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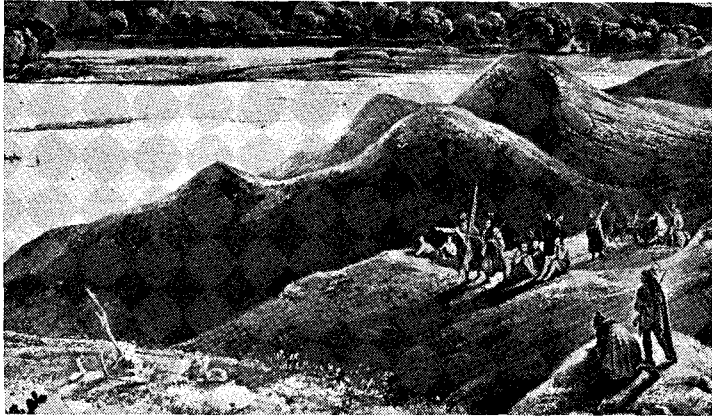


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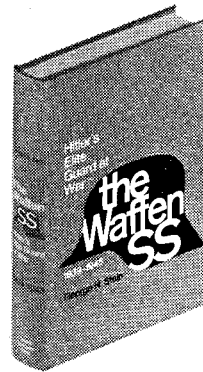
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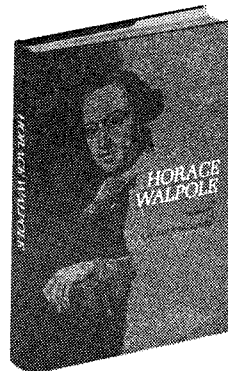
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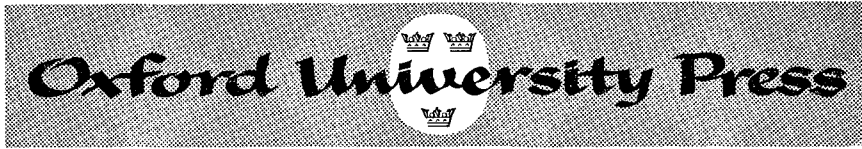
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VOLUME LXXI, NUMBER 4

JULY 1966

Civilization as a Phase of World History

ROBERT ERWIN*

WE think we know the zoological basis for man's domination of the earth. His dermal, circulatory, respiratory, and digestive systems fit him for nearly every climate and terrain and diet the planet offers. He is agile: runs, swims, climbs, and burrows. He is dexterous, with apposable thumbs, and has stereoscopic vision. His reproductive system keeps him in rut the year round, and his period of infantile dependency is extremely prolonged, so that he acts in concert with other members of his species throughout his life. The large human brain, a magnificent learning instrument, of course gives him an advantage. It enables the individual to improve his performance as he goes and the species to pool experience.

This equipment in a purely mechanical sense is not to be slighted. Porpoises and elephants, to name two outstripped evolutionary competitors, might have reached a very high degree of intelligence could they handle objects and flourish in a wider range of natural surroundings. The big cats and the larger birds of prey, to take another example, are powerful hunters, but

* Mr. Erwin is the Editor of Publications at the Harvard University Center for International Affairs. He has written several historical articles.

the apparatus of muscle and speed and weaponry that makes them so requires rich feeding. The more they kill, the harder and farther they must look to maintain their "standard of living." As for animals that commit themselves to special tissues to meet an evolutionary situation, they are the original models of built-in obsolescence.

On the basis of biological equipment, however, man is not all that promising as an animal, to judge by the modest position of his simian cousins in the bush. Many creatures—among them the social insects as well as numerous forms of cooperative aquatic life—reproduce at a rate that would seem to overwhelm him. Many herd, pack, and flock animals are individuated enough to equal him in the capacity of single members to enact the biological repertory of the species. The ability to mimic, play, and signal is not uniquely human. Up to a point even learning is not the most effective means to survival. If a duckling reacted to a hawk's shadow only after puzzling out the death of the rest of the brood, education might be interrupted by extinction.

If his biological apparatus does not fully account for the dominance of *Homo sapiens*, still less was the development of that apparatus a cut-and-dried affair. Just as the Punic Wars may be subsumed as a verifying datum under some socioeconomic theorem, so the emergence of man does not contradict the theory of evolution. But those who pursue history must have an account of the wars in addition to, perhaps in preference to, the theorem, and those who study life will be aware of the chanciness in specific evolution. "It would come as a shock to those who believe firmly that the scroll of the future is fixed," writes Loren Eiseley, to know that man's ratlike Paleocene ancestors came out of the swamps, experimented successfully with grassland life, but then were driven back by the true rodents. Many primates died off; those who survived struck out on a new line that brought them transformed from the rain forest fifty million years later. "It is conceivable that except for the invasion of the rodents . . . , we might be there on the grass, you and I, barking in the high-plains sunlight."¹ Since within nature man is a radically local phenomenon—much as on the historical board Henry VIII is not wholly reducible to a formula like growth of nationalism—"prehistoric" is an excellent tag for the evolutionary aeons before humanity: determined and unconscious, yet prefiguring history in contingency.

In becoming himself, *Homo sapiens* was wrenched out of underlying nature. Phenomenologists, who use the word "reflexion" to designate the opera-

¹ Loren Eiseley, *The Immense Journey* (New York, n.d.), 7, 10.

tion of consciousness, distinguish two movements. "Reflect means," on the one hand, "to concentrate oneself, to go from multiplicity towards unity by a centripetal motion. The subject thus moves from a state of dispersion or distraction; he turns to himself, he collects himself, simplifies himself, and concentrates himself at his center." Drawn toward consciousness and thereby alienated from underlying nature, early man would need to "collect himself" to act with the singleness that a lower animal cannot escape. This is the fall from innocence, unfitting man for nature. "Reflect," on the other hand, also means

to project onto a new level, and then it is the movement by which the subject, starting from a sort of original unity which cannot be grasped as such, tries to grasp itself by dissociating itself, by dividing itself or by doubling back on itself, by multiplying itself. . . . Reflexion . . . gradually reaches a state of greater expansion and proliferation around the original central point. . . .²

This is the basis for an indefinite amount of new purpose. Man, in the words of José Ortega y Gasset, "invents for himself a program of life."³

Historians are clearly entitled to set the time before the dawn of consciousness aside as prehistoric. Why they should shy away from the hundred thousand years or more between the emergence of *Homo sapiens* and the appearance of writing is less clear. Researchers from other disciplines uncovered the era; still other researchers, trained to find and interpret non-documentary evidence, explore it. Historians have a literary bias—a point to be touched on later—that leads them to approach even contemporary illiterate societies through the writings of literate observers. Yet, with consciousness, a second nature became possible, and one supposes historians would want to familiarize themselves with it as ecologists familiarize themselves with primary nature. One would expect them, especially if the high cultures are their ultimate target, to adopt a name such as "protohistoric" for the time in which culture itself was created. That gigantic task of the protohistoric era does not deserve to be put down as merely inchoate.

In adapting underlying nature to his purposes, man introduced regular transmission of experience and deliberate teaching. Instead of the child learning and imagining at random as he encounters the world, he is introduced to a ready-made plan of life based upon accumulated experience and decisions. Both in the sense of selection and in the sense of confrontation his culture provides in advance an area of concern. Since every culture that functions at all gives more control over underlying nature than animal

² This and the preceding quotation are from Pierre Thévenaz, *What Is Phenomenology?* ed. James M. Edie (Chicago, 1962), 114.

³ José Ortega y Gasset, *History as a System* (New York, 1962), 215.

behavior does, the child not only meets a world already stamped by culture, but prefers it. The density of the cultural environment, its patterned, stylized formation, and its irresistible attraction are what suggest that it is tantamount to a second nature. In A. L. Kroeber's phrase, "cultural development has largely taken over the determination of what will happen on this planet both to life and culture."⁴

The assertion was made that much chance or fluctuation entered into the evolution of humanity. The same underlying natural laws that shaped *Homo sapiens* could, through a minor eruption on the sun, have boiled terrestrial life away. The primate nervous system could, by responding to broad hints from nature, have elaborated itself into tactile equipment instead of a huge central brain. Similarly, though culture is a "nature," an imposed system, it allows a fair amount of practical freedom. The key experience of a mouse dropped into a box fifty miles square is not restraint.

Culture in fact offers considerable latitude to the individual. In the sense that a way of life is distinguishable from the people who practice it, as a musical composition is distinct from the orchestra that plays it, a culture is not a society. "The [culture] patterns are not deterministic laws but more or less definite ways of acting, thinking, doing things, developed by people who, as they become conscious of them, may acquire great skill and mastery in evolving and controlling the patterns."⁵ An individual earns the praise "cultured" in the Arnoldian sense precisely by adding or transmuting values in his particular culture.

Almost certainly as the breeding ground of culture the protohistoric phase is worth intensive study by more historians. For this phase the evidence may be meager: some objects and bones and buried sites, a few wall paintings, leavened by whatever analogies anyone has the confidence to draw from the life of surviving primitive people. That only makes additional finds more valuable and dictates that all available evidence be turned over in many minds. Regrettably, few historians, conditioned to the library and the archives, are interested.

The discipline of history, despite the present tabulation and concern with methodology and the historians' lack of employment outside teaching, remains a branch of literature. Historians are interested in events and interpretation. Even the duller sort of Marxist historian, aside from the politics of glorification and after insisting on the "necessary course" of development,

⁴ A. L. Kroeber, *An Anthropologist Looks at History*, ed. Theodora Kroeber (Berkeley, Calif., 1963), 197.

⁵ Milton Singer, foreword to *ibid.*

will in the end imply, indeed convey, that Nikolai Lenin, for example, is interesting in his own right. Historians share with other artists a bias against letting events be submerged in postulates and are convinced at bottom that each segment of experience that historical imagination molds into a picture carried its own self-sufficient, irreducible value.⁶ In so far as this keeps them from treating man fundamentally as an object, all is well. But as literati, though often concealed from themselves like Émile Zola, they are sentimental about high culture. After their fashion, they talk as tough as Ernest Hemingway: "Toynbee has done a great disservice to the comparative study of civilizations and tended to bring discredit on the whole enterprise by undertaking his investigations in so ill-conceived and unscientific a manner."⁷ What they tend to do is another matter: eschew world history for metropolitan history and avoid as "prehistoric" the phase for which literally all the evidence is objective.

It is difficult to reconcile the dismissal of protohistory by historians proper with the views of primitive peoples presented by archaeologists, anthropologists, and art historians. The theological rigor and courtliness of savages have often been demonstrated. As far as complexity goes, a trained observer usually requires a long period of study to grasp the pattern of life in a few clusters of huts, while illiteracy was the rule for the masses in many historic civilizations. Cultural relativism seems to underscore the distinctiveness rather than the amorphousness of lower cultures. From the very heights of Bloomsbury we are admonished not "to suppose that civilized artists are either superior or inferior to uncivilized" or to "maintain that civilization is either favourable or unfavourable to art."⁸ At the same time, early protohistoric man has been applauded as a sort of self-taught engineer. He is man the toolmaker, weapon thrower, fire builder. Indeed, he is presented as a go-getter along the lines of Henry Ford (even similar in having a nasty disposition), and students are asked to admire the technology he created despite his humble origins.

Can historians accept this? Surely the *technological* content of the protohistoric phase was scanty? What counts is that the pitifully crude articles are found on sites that suggest they were used by groups and generations. Man was creating culture, the prior condition for all technology, and cultural or-

⁶ "A work is bad when it is not itself, when it does not amount to something like a unique being or entity, existing independently of any other. It is . . . irreplaceable, non-interchangeable." (Eugene Ionesco, "The Writer and His Problems," tr. John Weightman, *Encounter*, XXIII [Sept. 1964], 14.)

⁷ Philip Bagby, *Culture and History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963), 181.

⁸ Clive Bell, *Civilization* (New York, 1928), 85-86.

ganization was the chief protohistoric task. We might even refer to early protohistory as man's constitutional era in the same sense that we speak of the constitutional period in American history.

Of course no culture leaders suspend coming to grips with things while they draft a scheme. Early man did not spend one year counseling and the next year drying salmon. But there are periods when the chief actors simply make do with whatever technics lie at hand. To continue the analogy with government, founding fathers often pass a crisis in deliberation, riding various waves of popular enthusiasm or confusion, without money, arms, storehouses, communications, or other technical means.

Only when the Neolithic age supplanted protohistory could technics be said to have first boomed. Again, life was not one-sided. Lewis Mumford and other writers conjecture that Neolithic societies were excellently ordered, with room for expansion, benign religions, and a standard of living that was rising but would not yet permit sustained warfare. Technics pure and simple did boom, however.⁹ Settled agriculture (with plowing, irrigation, and domesticated plants and animals), wheeled and sail-driven transport, craft specialization, and measurement were established. Since technological advances of this caliber serve world-wide appetites and yield their advantages almost regardless of cultural variations, they are nearly irresistible. (To give a current illustration, if a peasant society is tempted to go over to cash cropping, the traditional extended family may be turned into a help rather than a drawback—as a savings and investment and labor pool in the initial absence of banks, large firms, and similar institutions.) Too much should not be made of the “transcultural” character of technics. No doubt some Neolithic societies rejected technical innovations until their immediate neighbors threatened to eradicate them. Each society may have tended to borrow first what was most congenial to its values and quickly to mold the new utensils in its style. (Even today the difference in shape and proportion between Russian and American missiles cannot be wholly accounted for on technical grounds.) Without question in Neolithic times innovations were transmitted by direct contact, so that much cultural interchange accompanied the diffusion of technics. Nevertheless, the keynote of the age was radical and rapid material gain for humanity as a whole.

Historians are forestalled in several ways from granting the Neolithic

⁹ In *The Rise of the West* (Chicago, 1963), W. H. McNeill cites calculations by Edward S. Deevey, Jr. (“The Human Population,” *Scientific American*, CCIII [Sept. 1960], 195–204), “which suggest that human population multiplied about sixteen times between 8000 and 4000 B.C. as a consequence of the agricultural revolution.”

Revolution its proper weight. Partly out of a conviction that civilization is the culmination of human development and partly because only civilized life, through records and monumental remains, falls within their self-chosen range, they are forced to give the heaviest dramatic emphasis to the advent of civilization. And only in the later periods of civilization is it possible to work on a fine enough scale, such as biography, to use the subtler methods of dramaturgy: irony, understatement, suspense, and the like. The advent of civilization must be dramatized as the feature act. What is called good timing in the theater requires civilization to come on bigger, brighter, and louder than the prologue. This obscures the fact that the technics employed in the Mesopotamian irrigation works and the Egyptian pyramids, for example, were, *in principle*, laid down during the Neolithic phase. Nor did civilization invariably move in the direction of complexity. The merging of local gods into centralized gods perhaps erased as many versions as civilized theology later elaborated. The foreshortening of water, for example, from a multitude of words designating this or that aspect of place, temperature, dampness, light, and purpose to a wiggly line of writing was in some respects a return to the fixed-response animal world—and had to be undone by “civilized” poets.

Bringing on civilization as an engineering triumph not only hides the truly technological character of the Neolithic phase, but it also repeats the mistake made with the protohistoric phase by disguising the fact that civilization was a great leap forward in cultural and social organization. From a series of refinements no more exciting on the surface than one cited in *The Rise of the West*—“Hammurabi’s administrative machinery was sufficiently developed to permit him to scatter soldiers at various points far from his person and summon them for service when necessary”—sprang the libraries of Mesopotamia, the bathhouses of the Indus civilization, and the post roads of ancient China. When man massed his numbers in cities and utilized his collective powers through the state and its auxiliary institutions, he had got hold of the most productive “tool” of all.

Ruthlessness of manpower exploitation, as distinct from efficiency, is not solely the property of civilization. Savages in their well-known nobility are capable of using each other mercilessly. At a more rudimentary level still, the family is a thoroughgoing tyranny, with the child dependent on his immediate kin not only for sustenance and protection but also for a dispensation of affection in order to become a sane adult. Nor should the preponderance of coercive power in the hands of an elite be exaggerated. Shoddy work gets

done at knife point. Even when thousands of slaves were worked to death in the making of showy civilized edifices, a much larger majority of the population volunteered their consent in the most earnest possible way—by continuing to focus their lives through the system. Time and again barbarian conquerors of civilized centers elected to become leaders rather than exploiters.

The situation of invaders from the marches is well represented in the description W. H. McNeill gives of the Germans in Roman times: "... German tribesmen had begun to settle down to a more intensive agriculture as early as the time of Tacitus. Their numbers correspondingly increased without at first altering the warrior ethos they had inherited from an earlier, more pastoral style of life."¹⁰ Typically, these are groups who have already come more than halfway to civilization and are gathering momentum. As mercenaries, captives, and tributaries, advance parties have already trickled over the line. The whole people has mastered Neolithic culture, and a dim determination to develop a more fulsome way of life, though usually not the way of the metropolitan power, prevails. So irresistible does the craving for civilization become that the people of the marches risk their existence, literally taking a gamble formerly reserved as an ideal for young males. Until nearly overrun, the defending power looks upon the struggle as a graduated affair, with territory to be lost or won, booty to be seized or relinquished, campaigns to be checked or expanded. The invaders, on the contrary, leave their homeland, give up the possibility of supporting themselves on a sustained basis, and expose their population to total war. What is often interpreted as the softening and acculturation of barbarians who conquered civilizations might also be seen as the appropriation of what they came to get.

But why, if civilization exploits manpower without necessarily giving the benefits of productivity to the individual, are the people of the marches attracted? What draws such figures as the subsistence farmer who more or less consciously chooses to become a slum dweller? The answer has to do with the cultural amplitude of metropolitan life, its diversity, pageantry, and self-generating character. Far from being totally a workshop (a state we recognize as sociopathic), a civilization is its own management and its own demanding customer.

The creator of culture as a second nature overlying physical nature thrives on roles and style. Within the high cultures he builds a third nature that might be labeled individualism. He develops the capacity to stand aside from

¹⁰ McNeill, *Rise of the West*, 387.

himself and see himself as a cog in the enterprise. He is able to follow the nuances of his personal history with an acute sense of consistency, yet weigh that history as only one actualized possibility out of the many existences he might have been. For transcendent consciousness, the self becomes a medium. Whether brought by greed, force, or birth into civilization, very few men returned to one-dimensional or two-dimensional nature.

All this might sound like Hegelian slush were civilization not a brute success—a huge, vulgar, unblinkable historical fact, the broadest cultural unit yet established, absorbing most of the human species and dominating the mind until recently. Barring a handful of Han and Islamic historians who sensed the immense cultural variety of the world and noted the gap between cultural dispersion and political control, hardly anyone over the two thousand years from Herodotus to Voltaire thought of world history (as distinct from religious and philosophic attempts at universality). Even today there are fewer important studies of world history than of, say, seventeenth-century England.

The reluctance to subsume one's civilization into a class with others should not be blamed entirely on willful parochialism or lack of resources for comparative study. Effectively, none of the score or so of civilizations that operated in history were much smaller than the box into which the mouse was dropped earlier in this article. Each gave the single person wide scope within underlying nature, culture, and individualism. The widest social unit—state or empire—was often so comprehensive that the person in it never conceived of a greater cultural unit. Even when, as in Pharaonic Egypt, political and cultural boundaries nearly coincided, individuals looked no further in their reflective moments than the limits of dynasty, generation, city, occupation. As much as petty-mindedness, the amplitude and duration of civilizations made them seem unique and all-encompassing from within.

The archaeological and philological discoveries of the past 150 years, enhanced by psychological and anthropological widening of horizons, have only begun to stimulate a feeling for world history. The high degree of interchange between cultures is better known. Analogies between civilizations and organisms are under suspicion. Still today, however, we combine some eighteenth-century clichés with a contradictory preference for dealing with fragments.

The words commonly used in English to describe the termination of a civilization—and comparable words are used in other languages—imply that it succumbs from inner weakness: decline, fall, degenerate, wither, weaken, dissolve, collapse, decay, die. This idea of the inherent enfeeblement of civili-

zations gains support from the common-sense observation that things pass, from the emotions aroused by mutability, from the religious hope of renewal, and from the concept of finitude. Yet can we in truth find many historical instances of a civilization, out of fatigue, despair, corruption, or whatever supposed weakness, voluntarily and unilaterally voiding itself? Can we find any?

If they were approaching the question *de novo*, historians might not feel obliged even to look, since logic indicates that the answer is "No." The complex that the abstraction "a culture" designates is a collective style or orientation. Properly speaking, it must be lived; it cannot be merely potential. It is generated in corporeal consciousness, manifested through objects, and located in history. But it points indefinitely beyond actual groups living a version at any given time, because it pre-eminently includes ideas, values, norms. In the philosophy of Edmund Husserl, "the human belongs to the universe of objective facts, but as persons, as egos, men have goals, aims." Since striving for goals and upholding norms is a task that never ends as long as the will accepts it, "the particular *telos* of separate nations . . . lies in infinity." "There is essentially no zoology of peoples."¹¹ Should a people in possession of one culture replace it with another, they have not used up the old; rather, under duress they have left it eternally unfinished, in the process usually dispersing what was "the people." Aging is a biological concept, not a historical one. A culture, by its nature, is under no *organic* necessity to wear down.

But of course historians do not ask the questions innocently. They are heir to the literary vice of their profession, which for centuries steeped itself in the Latin writings and fostered a craving for the fiction of a strong, austere, scrupulous Roman Republic versus a rotten, degenerate Empire. The viciousness of the vice is intensified by the fact that education in Latin is perfunctory or nonexistent for most historians today; thus the notion of "decline" comes unexamined. Worse still, non-Westerners trained in historiography, primarily a Western creation, catch the attitude subliminally at third hand. And so historians must look at specific conditions to see that to be overthrown is not the same as to dwindle.

Consider from Roman history itself the following events that occurred within a period of twenty years. First a Roman politician assembled a body of cavalry four thousand strong—a far cry from the days when only a few equestrian nobles accompanied the legions. When this leader's army was

¹¹ Edmund Husserl, *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy*, tr. Quentin Lauer (New York, 1965), 183, 158.

routed, he tried to prevent the news from reaching Rome. Not long after, a *nouveau riche* general massed an unprecedentedly large army and led it to destruction. Subsequently the second largest city on the Italian peninsula betrayed the government at Rome. Amidst these tribulations the Romans began the practice of cutting off the hands of captured messengers, they starved to death the senators of a disloyal town, and they played the gruesome trick of throwing the head of his brother over the wall to an enemy. About this time, when certain young nobles were asked to join a special force for the defense of the fatherland, the parents of many tried to buy exemptions. It was not long before a faction in Rome sought perpetual rule for a successful young adventurer.

Seemingly only a few virgins ravished by apes would be needed to make this sequence playable in Hollywood, and yet it took place two hundred years before Caesar crossed the Rubicon: during the Second Punic War, when Cato himself was alive to censure the "effete Greek" ways of Scipio Africanus, the man who defeated Hannibal and declined to accept supreme power for life. Tiberius Sempronius and Terentius Varro, both elected consuls, were the bumbling generals, and Capua was the city that revolted, quite understandably since Rome at this time had not even unified the peninsula. Quite likely such events would be interpreted as signs of decadence if they had occurred later.¹²

By definition, senescence implies a prior period of maturity and growth. Those who believe in cultural senescence therefore believe in growth, and growth follows a fixed path. Prejudged in terms of a biological metaphor, the early failures and afflictions of a civilization never look as serious as in fact historically they were. To return to Roman examples, only the Greek naval victory at Cumae allowed the Romans to get out from under Etruscan suzerainty in the beginning. Celts raided the Po Valley and plundered the Balkans before the birth of Christ. Rome never mastered irrigation on a scale suitable for a centralized regime. It bumbled into a wrenching economic depression toward the end of the first century A.D. and was swept by plague two centuries later.

Such examples of weakness and misfortune from beginning to end are the more telling in that they pertain to states, which can "make mistakes" in the sense of overextension, inefficient institutions, and so forth. Civilizations, however, transect competing and successive states, as is especially the

¹² In his *Hannibal's Legacy* (2 vols., New York, 1966), Arnold J. Toynbee advances the extreme thesis that the corruption and centralization engendered by Rome's struggle with Hannibal foredoomed the Roman Empire.

case with European or Western civilization. Moreover, civilizations which lasted an extremely long time and in which cultural and political boundaries approximately coincided provide especially good examples of the converse of behavior appearing early that would be called decadent if it came later. Namely, behavior that would be called seminal if it appeared earlier frequently appears late.

Traditional China, for instance, so old that even its "times of trouble" from a distance appear to have an antique perfection, did not pass away in its sleep, a little fitfully, after a quiet old age. From 1500 to 1800 the Chinese *increased* their capacity to accommodate outside pressure, found a place for Europeans in the Middle Kingdom, and Sinicized the Manchu conquerors before they came. The educated class of China entered the twentieth century loyal to the "way." What led to the overthrow of the old system was its disadvantage, growing unmistakable, against new enemies. British gunboats and marines overran the Chinese in the 1840's. European countries and the United States obtained trade privileges on the basis of practices that violated Chinese tradition. Japan, the most Westernized country in Asia, raped China in the 1930's. Against this background, the Chinese did not so much repudiate Confucianism as snatch at a new culture to improve their position.

Assyro-Babylonian culture—sometimes called Akkadian to distinguish it from the Sumerian culture that preceded it and the Persian and Islamic cultures that supplanted it in Mesopotamia—showed if anything greater vigor at its end than at the beginning. The Chaldean dynasty, which included the Old Testament figure Nebuchadnezzar II and was one of the ablest ruling groups in two millennia, rose in the last century of Akkadian civilization. The proportion of slaves decreased toward the end of the culture, while the aqueduct and the cotton plant (for which Sennacherib claimed credit) were introduced over fifteen hundred years after the first Akkadian king, Sargon I. A thousand years after Sargon had, to the envy of the Sumerians, coined the catchy title "King of the Four Quarters of the Earth," the Assyrian kings were no less resourceful in devising a special "southern" title to gratify the national pride of their Babylonian subjects. The building, shifting, and rebuilding of capitals continued in a line that led from Uruk to Ur to Kish to Akkad to Isin to Larsa to Babylon to Assur to Calah to Nineveh. In warfare the Akkadians went on innovating with chariots, cavalry, loose formations, and archers. Almost to the time of Christ, beyond the Persian conquest, each generation of scribes mastered the Sumerian borrowings of about 2300 B.C., but also extended the Akkadian

word lists and multiplied the formulas for various kinds of tablets. In short, this was a culture where most was kept, but much was added.¹³

Still another factor that undercuts theories of cultural death from old age is that usages, crafts, values, and the like—the very stuff of culture—seldom disappear entirely. Anthropologists have found patterns from West African kingdoms being transmitted in twentieth-century Georgia, and historians of science have found features of caliphate medicine in use in Bourbon Europe, to give only two examples. As Nicholas Berdyaev wrote: “The fall of Rome and the ancient world, then, is not synonymous with death, but rather with a sort of historical catastrophe; an upheaval on the surface of the earth during which some new element is added to the foundations of history and the basic principle of ancient culture is left intact.”¹⁴

Yet civilizations do perish, and not because of the inexplicable incursion of a mysterious ailment into a charmed life. The causes are exactly and only those causes that are accessible to historians—particular choices, relations, conditions, personalities, and happenings. Of course no pin-point theory of history is intended, with all hanging on a single battle or a bad farming practice. Instead, the regularity that emerges from this interpretation of the perished civilizations has to do, not with inevitable growth and decline, but with the universal ambition of civilizations and protocivilized cultures to vanquish what is alien to them if they can. Whether they can, and when they can, works out historically. What holds constant is the urge to destroy.

It may be that civilizations gain more or less stamina according to how widely they diffuse operational responsibility. The Indus civilization apparently concentrated cultural as well as political power in the hands of a very few managers and hence crumbled almost instantly before the onslaught of the Aryans. By contrast, the Egyptians, who conceived of themselves as members of a single “household,” recovered from the invasion of the Hyksos, and of course the traditional Chinese, who held that their emperor was the link between heaven and all mankind, absorbed numerous conquerors. Much of the durability and portability of Jewish culture stems from its shared quality. To the extent that civilizations that assigned large numbers of people only so much of a place as was needed to draw upon their brute labor were the most perishable, oppression is not the key to cultural endurance. Yet diffusion of responsibility does not often entail egalitarianism. Many times the chief actors in a high culture—tutor, queen,

¹³ See Robert Erwin, “Cities without Vistas,” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XLII (Winter 1966), 43–57.

¹⁴ Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Meaning of History*, tr. George Reavey (Cleveland, 1962), 109–10.

commander, prophet, founder of dynasty—have been in effect slaves. More to the point, inclusiveness is no absolute guarantor against aggression.

In this respect and others, the archetypal civilizations are those of the New World. In Mexico, at least as represented by the Aztecs, civilized man devoted his highest energies to bribing gods with the blood of his neighbors and then was himself put to fire and sword by Westerners. Mayan civilization was long thought to demonstrate the opposite case, of internal decay: the Mayas exhausted their land, tore themselves apart in civil wars, stifled creativity through theocracy, and so on, ran the speculations. But recent research points toward overthrow ahead of decline and before the ravages of the Europeans. "A final occupation at Altar de Sacrificios dates from the Post-Classic period or from the time of the 'collapse.' The ceramics and figurines of this late phase of culture differ from those of the characteristic Classic Maya traditions and suggest instead an invasion of alien, perhaps Mexican, peoples from the north and west."¹⁵ And Peruvian culture illustrates nearly all the arguments laid down here.

In line with the "manpower" thesis, the first great advance made in Peru following the Neolithic Revolution appears to have depended on the organization of considerable bodies of men for sustained tasks. This is manifest in the impressive ruins at Chavín de Huantar, where there is no evidence that new "equipment" was available in the erection, around 700 B.C., of immense stone buildings with ventilating shafts. Ribald—some would say pornographic—paintings, which in a "Roman" perspective should show up in a degenerate phase, present themselves in Salinar pottery nearly two thousand years before the Incas, and mass production of ceramics—romanticism about handicrafts notwithstanding—may be detected in Moche remains from five hundred years before the expansionist period. Contrary to notions of synthetic cosmopolitanism, the Chimu people, the most urbanized Peruvians prior to the Incas and partly contemporary with them, apparently had no state religion and hardly any communal worship at all. As for the Incas, their "decadence" may be gauged from the fact that in less than a century before the Spanish conquest they had integrated an empire covering 350,000 square miles. Some of their laws would have satisfied Cato himself: citizens were not allowed to travel for pleasure; adultery with a noblewoman was a capital offense. Numerous Inca administrative practices deserve comparison for soundness to those of modern Israel, for example, surplus crops being sent to regions where they were not grown in order to

¹⁵ Gordon R. Willey, "Maya Archaeological Research at Harvard University," *Harvard Foundation for Advanced Study and Research Newsletter* (Mar. 1964), 5.

vary the diet of the people.¹⁶ Finally, the conquest represented in melodramatic form the "natural" end of civilizations. In full flower, Peruvian culture was simply hacked to pieces by the Europeans at first sight.

How, on balance, should civilization be judged as a scale on which to live? Its amplitude has been mentioned, offering to date the most control over physical nature and the richest facilities for creating styles of life. Looking backward (and from a civilization that especially values diversity), the Westerner may feel that the form is grand indeed. Yet from the very diversity—systems as distinguishable from one another as a greyhound is distinguishable from a bulldog—it is obvious that no one high culture came close to accommodating the full range of human versatility. Already partial and restrictive, each civilization operated at its best only for relatively short periods among small groups in particular localities. Civilized efflorescence was at most a phenomenon of an age in an empire, most often a school of thought, a group of practitioners, a class of leaders for two or three generations: a matter of subunits. Not only were multitudes excluded from the "average" culture of the civilization to which they belonged, but the average culture itself was remote from the bursts of peak creativity.

If this restrictive side of civilization is held in view along with its amplitude, then the way in which the historic civilizations perished, always at the hands of aliens as argued here, allows historians more freedom in the interpretation of events, but is even less comforting than conventional theories of "decline." Though probably no historic civilization stylized itself to such a degree that it excluded life in the main, neither could any of them brook others. Consequently the form civilization seems to require that new styles of life develop at the expense of other styles that have not wholly realized themselves.

When this conclusion is reflected upon in the context of the twentieth century, interesting questions arise. The diverse civilizations and surviving Neolithic cultures that existed in Galileo's time have passed, and no new ones replace them. The entire world seems to be in the process of adopting Western industrialism, often most eagerly where the West has lost political control. It is hard to see how Western civilization will be overturned by another, and thus confirm the conclusion, when no other is flourishing.

Is the Communist bloc perhaps the beginning of a new civilization? Even if this were so, the conclusion would not necessarily hold, for indus-

¹⁶ For a judicious account of Inca government, see J. Alden Mason, *The Ancient Civilizations of Peru* (London, 1957).

trial technology makes global domination feasible, and the Communist bloc explicitly aims at such domination. The overthrow of the West would simply carry forward the question of a monocivilized world. But of course the question need not be carried forward. The Communist bloc is a wing of European culture. As Michael Polanyi writes,

In 1789 France broke away and led the world toward a revolutionary consummation of the contradiction inherent in a post-Christian rationalism. The ideology of total revolution is a variant of the derivation of absolutism from absolute individualism. . . . This logic is, alas, familiar to us, and we can readily identify its more or less complete fulfilment from Robespierre and St. Just to Lenin, Bela Kun, Hitler, and Mao Tse-tung.¹⁷

Instead of witnessing either a "totalitarianizing" of civilization or an exception to the rule that civilizations are destroyed only by each other, twentieth-century man is possibly struggling through the prelude to a form of culture more comprehensive than civilization. Though industrialism originated in one of the historic civilizations, which Oswald Spengler aptly called Faustian, and though the world has been exposed to it through the classic civilized mediums of force and intolerant proselytizing, the peoples who are giving up their traditional cultures in the rush to "modernize" are perhaps not really subscribing to Western civilization. As yet they do not know how to separate technics from the historical wrapping, but the Industrial Revolution is like the Neolithic Revolution, an expansion of man's field of action. It leads to a sudden, gigantic increase of population, resources, coordination, and power for happiness and misery such as permitted civilization to begin in the great river valleys five thousand years ago.

Civilization, to repeat, originated in more efficient exploitation of manpower; the founders of the historic civilizations were conquerors and revolutionaries. On the basis of this record, there is no reason to believe that a higher phase of cultural development would be launched except through the will to power.

The will to power is strong and incessant, but its course, like that of a river with soft banks, is hard to predict. The nuclear weapons that have come out of the modern surge of technics make civilization look obsolete in a positive as well as a negative sense. In terms of utilizing human resources, a postindustrial culture matrix might compare to civilization as the yield from a few ounces of uranium in a reactor compares to the yield from a ton of coal in a boiler. Civilization may not, however, appear so primitive to those who exercise power in its centers. The "take" in comfort, status, and

¹⁷ Michael Polanyi, "Beyond Nihilism," *Encounter*, XIV (Mar. 1960), 39.

gratification for functionaries even in an old-fashioned agrarian despotism is considerable. The interplay among the power elite between preserving the cultural *status quo* and being tempted by ambition to try a change of culture form will, as a matter of fact, probably revolve around nuclear weapons. Their possession is the means to ultimate sovereignty of the civilized type. Their use obliterates what one has sovereignty over (and oneself). That these conditions are irreconcilable affords no grounds for believing a "sensible" course is going to be taken through the will to power. Most men have always wanted to live and to use their resources, and the outcome has been slaughter.

Should partisans for a new culture form nevertheless appear, they could do worse than to adopt a strategy of mingling. Nuclear weapons bear some resemblance to the very large dinosaurs that could not catch the very small dinosaurs that ate their eggs. Rival power centers close enough to each other geographically would constitute one and the same indivisible target area. The question is how to induce rival powers to mingle their functionaries and populations. This is a special case of the general problem of breaching the cultural wall around civilizations and the state frontiers inside civilizations.

The most promising legacy that can be drawn from civilization for this purpose is the institution. In general, the furthest effective social unit within civilizations has been the state, precariously segregating itself from others of its kind. The furthest effective cultural unit has been the single civilization, achieving a style by exclusion. At times the only bridging devices have been rudimentary Neolithic practices such as interdynastic marriage and the exchange of hostages. At other times, however, institutions have straddled frontiers and trained their members to set aside local loyalties. Economic institutions come first to mind in this respect: transport agents, trading houses, banks. Religious institutions have succeeded in recruiting functionaries to spend a lifetime in the service of an enterprise whose political domain they never enter. Through scientific symbology much communication is feasible within and among institutions whose members do not know each other's supposedly value-determinant native languages.

Perhaps omens of an institutional phase of culture are already in the air. A recent article titled "Companies Outgrow Countries" describes how the balance of payments of developed economies as large as Britain and Italy can be affected by the purely business decisions of multinational firms, some of which "go so far as to maintain expert full-time [internal] foreign

exchange departments.”¹⁸ NATO officers in the “trade union of soldiers” have been known to help each other lobby with their national governments. Today’s numerous international organizations, conferences, and exchanges seem to be a combination of conspicuous consumption and subterfuge on the part of the power centers. Still, they offer scope for Hammurabic ambition, and they intertwine bureaucracies.

The object would be to lead as many self-perpetuating institutions as possible, each unintentionally compromising the sovereignty of its society, to crisscross their lines throughout the world. If this resulted in uniformity, the diversity of civilization would be preferable (short of nuclear suicide). But it should lead to a greatly enlarged and more open form of the interdependent variety which civilization created in the city.

Whatever new phase, if any, develops beyond industrialism, we are at least able at this juncture to begin using the word “civilized” without either cynicism or naïveté. A ghetto is civilized, and so is a *corps de ballet*. Contrasted with one another, they seem to have opposite value and no common function. But compared with the menstrual huts and village dances of Neolithic humanity, they stand forth as coexamples of civilization—a more ample apparatus for realizing similar intentions. Man is implanted in the world as it is given. Intentions multiply, however. To the extent that consciousness transcends underlying nature, culture patterns, and, in the clinical sense, the individual’s life style, man defines himself. The ultimate purpose of according the same weight to “civilization” as to “triangle” is not to exchange moral presumption for deterministic resignation. It is to clear the way for an inquiry into what this facility built by man is really worth.

¹⁸ *Economist*, Oct. 17, 1964, 272.

The Military Origins of Medieval Representation

THOMAS N. BISSON*

AMONG the circumstances that attended the formation of parliamentary institutions in the Middle Ages, one seldom hears of militarism or military organization. The prevailing understanding comprises such factors as the persistence of feudal traditions of counsel and law, the emergence of an urban class, the revival of Roman legal principles of public responsibility and representation, and the ever more urgent financial needs of expanding governments. It is not my purpose to reject this pattern of explanation. On the contrary, I should like for the present to assume that it is generally satisfactory. But it seems to me that militarism has been unduly neglected in accounting for the rise of consultative government and that it should be investigated as a fundamental condition to which the well-known factors or "causes" may be related. Fortunately there have been some prospectors in this domain; the problem, while neglected, has not passed unnoticed. It will appear that my discussion owes much to suggestions and contributions made by William Stubbs, J. H. Round, J. E. A. Jolliffe, Michael Powicke, and other authorities.

The underestimation of military aspects of parliamentary origins may perhaps be attributed to the tendency to view developments of the High Middle Ages anachronistically. In recent times representative institutions have come to be regarded as incompatible with militarist rule. Ordinary affairs of state are usually distinguished sharply from what we like to think of as the extraordinary affairs of war. Yet it is hardly open to doubt that European representation arose in a society of a different sort: a society that, notwithstanding considerable advances in social objectives and political-administrative techniques, remained organized primarily for war. Even in England, with its exceptionally progressive institutional life, those who ruled were still in the thirteenth century mainly those who fought. Those who *were* ruled, moreover, were still thought of in fundamentally military terms. Landholding, the obligations of society, and privileges long con-

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tinued to be defined militarily—and no one questions the significance of tenure and status in parliamentary beginnings. The “people” or “nation,” considered in relation to the ruler as well as to other peoples, was in the first instance an army, or at any rate the pool from which an army could be mustered. The latter circumstance may be taken as a convenient point of departure for this discussion.

That the earliest secular assemblies of the Middle Ages were armies is too well known to require much elaboration. Christian Pfister speaks of the Frankish Mayfield as an “assembly” that was “at once an army, a council and a legal tribunal.”¹ The chronicles swarm with allusions to army-assemblies, the doings of which offered the best available key to understanding public affairs.² Furthermore, without apparently straining their terminology, chroniclers invariably speak of armies as being “assembled,” using such words as *convocare*, *congregare*, *aggregare*, *adunare*, and *convenire*.³ What is perhaps less well known is that armies continued to have a political identity, and assemblies to approximate armies in composition, throughout the Middle Ages. Armies gave counsel on political as well as military affairs, elected monarchs, approved legislation, and (as Fulcher of Chartres says of the army of the First Crusade) were “ruled” by their leaders.⁴ On the other

¹ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. H. M. Gwatkin et al. (8 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1911–36), II, 135; cf. Jacques Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France* (4 vols., Paris, 1886–1917), III, 438–39, on early Capetian practice; see also Heinrich Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d ed., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1906–28), II, 172–81; Felix Liebermann, *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Halle, 1913), 36, 43. The early Lombard army-assembly ratified legislation, *Edictus Ceteraque Langobardorum Leges cum Constitutionibus et Pactis Principum Beneventanorum*, ed. F. Bluhme (Hanover, 1869), 72. The archetypal passage is Tacitus, *Germania*, Chaps. xi–xiii.

² See, e.g., Fredegar, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle*, ed. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), Chap. xc; Continuator of Fredegar, *ibid.*, Chaps. xxxvii, xlii; *Vita Hludovici Imperatoris* (“Astronomer”), ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1829), Chap. xxx, 623; Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1926), iii, Chap. 1, 80, Chap. v, 102, iv, Chap. iv, 130; Abbo[n], *Le siège de Paris par les Normands*, *Poème du ix^e siècle*, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1942), ii, vv. 467 ff.; Richer, *Histoire de France (888–995)*, ed. Robert Latouche (2 vols., Paris, 1930–37), II, iv, Chap. xviii, 174.

³ Fredegar, *Chronicle*, ed. Wallace-Hadrill, iv, Chap. xxxviii; Richer, *Histoire*, ed. Latouche, I, i, Chap. vii, 20; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Auguste Le Prévost (5 vols., Paris, 1838–55), I, i, Chap. xxiv, 168, IV, x, Chap. vii, 44, xi, Chap. iii, 170–71; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1964), Chap. xxviii, 220, 222. Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises* (Paris, 1892), 496, remarks on the use of just these terms in references to early Capetian assemblies.

⁴ Continuator of Fredegar, ed. Wallace-Hadrill, Chap. xlii; Richer, *Histoire de France*, ed. Latouche, II, iv, Chap. xix, 174–76; “Edictus Rothari,” in *Edictus*, ed. Bluhme, 72; Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II*, ed. Harry Bresslau (Hanover, 1878), Chap. xxx, 37; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1887–89), I, ii, Pt. 180, 217; Galbert of Bruges, *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon*, ed. Henri Pirenne (Paris, 1891), Chap. lxxiv; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), i, Chap. iv, 1, Chap. xxx, 1; *Gesta Francorum*, text by R. A. B. Mynors (London, 1962), x, 92–93; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral (2d ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1961), II, Chap. ccxxxiv; cf. *ibid.*, Chap. cdxli.

hand, the great Roncaglian diets of Frederick Barbarossa were afforded imperial armies; while in Christian Spain an organization of nobles appointed to defend the country was called the association (*compaña*) of knights.⁵ The famed peasant democracy of Switzerland was based on common military duties, and in some of the cantons it has remained obligatory to bear weapons to the *Landsgemeinde* down to our own days.⁶

In most parts of Europe, however, the "nation in arms" was always impractical, so that from earliest times armies assumed the character of representations of the people. Military aristocracies, deriving privileges from prowess, were composed of "natural representatives."⁷ More significant, because rationally contrived, was the Carolingian device for "selective service" in the host, based on manses.⁸ The military representation of hides in Anglo-Saxon England was quite comparable.⁹ It is true that this system broke down on the Continent too early to have any effect on administrative practice, while in England the concurrent representation of vills in hundred and shire was better situated than military representation to influence political institutions; but it is nonetheless important for the history of the representative principle that European armies continued to be composed of token or reduced contingents of nobles against feudal quotas and of urban and rural deputations.¹⁰

Yet it would be a mistake to argue that armies as such were, or became,

⁵ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. G. H. Pertz (3d ed., Hanover, 1912), ii, Chaps. xi-xvi, 111-19, iv, Chaps. i-xii, 233-47; cf. "A Twelfth-Century 'Ars Dictaminis' in the Barberini Collection of the Vatican Library," ed. Helene Wieruszowski, *Traditio*, XVIII (1962), 384, 390-91. *Las siete partidas*, Bk. II, Chap. xxi, Sec. 1 (ed. Gregorio Lopez [5 vols., Paris, 1861], II, 218).

⁶ Adolf Gasser, "Die landständische Staatsidee und der schweizerische Bundesgedanke," in *L'organisation corporative du Moyen Âge à la fin de l'ancien régime* (Études présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'États), III (Louvain, 1939), 124-25; W.-A. Liebeskind, "Les assemblées d'état de l'ancienne suisse," *ibid.*, 204-205.

⁷ Cf. M. V. Clarke, *Medieval Representation and Consent* . . . (London, 1936), 278-83; and Liebermann's idea of the witan as national representatives in his *National Assembly*, 41.

⁸ *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius and V. Krause (2 vols., Hanover, 1883-97), I, No. 48, 134-35; cf. *ibid.*, No. 49, 136, on reduced service for Saxons in distant war theaters.

⁹ C. W. Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), 23, 28, 38 ff.

¹⁰ (Matthew Paris), *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (7 vols., London, 1872-83), II, 214; I. J. Sanders, *Feudal Military Service in England* (Oxford, Eng., 1956), 29 ff.; J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I: A Contribution to Mediaeval Military History* (Oxford, Eng., 1901), 46-48; Michael Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England: A Study in Liberty and Duty* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), 29-30, 36, 84, 86, 92-93, 130, 139 ff.; Édouard Audouin, *Essai sur l'armée royale au temps de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1913), 7-37, and *pièces justificatives*, No. 1; *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet et al. (5 vols., Paris, 1863-1909), I, No. 74; *Spicilegium Brivatense*, ed. Augustin Chassaing (Paris, 1886), No. 26, Art. 13; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* [hereafter cited as *HF*] (24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904), XXIV, 352; T. N. Bisson, *Assemblies and Representation in Languedoc in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), 86, 114-15, 268. The representation of manses recurs in certain peace armies; see, e.g., *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña* (26 vols., Madrid, 1896-1922), I, 66.

"representative institutions" in the proper sense of the term. Despite the continuously ambiguous nature of their convocations, the men of the post-Carolingian epochs knew how to distinguish between military and non-military assemblies, and even better between aid and counsel. What matters, then, is not so much the likeness between armies and assemblies (though that likeness has a further significance to which it will be necessary to return) as the military aspects and interests of convocations that were certainly assemblies in the usual sense.

The assemblies convoked for military purposes were very numerous in the feudal ages from the tenth to the thirteenth century. They constitute, indeed, a large proportion of the royal consultative meetings mentioned by French and English chroniclers. Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier have suggested that the only normal occasion for massive convocations of vassals by the early Capetian monarchs was when military campaigns were to be decided upon or undertaken.¹¹ The famous defensive muster of Louis VI against the threatened German invasion of 1124 is a case in point. The abbot Suger speaks of a preliminary convocation of nobles in which the "cause" was explained. Then came the rendezvous at Reims, where further discussions, about tactics, took place.¹² Defense and tactics were likewise basic issues in the consultative assemblies of the Norman and Angevin kings of England.¹³ Foreign expeditions were also projected in assemblies, in England soon after the Conquest, in France not until the time of Philip Augustus.¹⁴ It may be noted, however, that in England the "military councils," like the English armies, were much more nearly national bodies than their lagging French counterparts. The military rally of 1124, drawing lords from the far reaches of the French realm, was in this sense quite exceptional. Had there been more such events, some basis might have been established in France for a central deliberative institution such as developed across the Channel.

There is no need to multiply examples of military assemblies. They occurred everywhere during and after the eleventh century, and like almost all

¹¹ Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Âge* (3 vols. to date, Paris, 1957-62), II, 548. Presumably they would allow for the customary festival courts as well.

¹² Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, Chap. xxviii, 218-30; for interpretation of this incident, see J. R. Strayer, "Defense of the Realm and Royal Power in France," *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (4 vols., Milan, 1949-50), I, 289-91.

¹³ M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 225-26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 226; see also G. I. Langmuir, "Concilia and Capetian Assemblies, 1179-1230," in *Album Helen Maud Cam* (2 vols., Louvain, 1960-61), II (International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, XXIV), 35-42.

consultations of their time they were quite devoid of institutional characteristics. They were occasions rather than the meetings of definite or recognized bodies, occasions for being briefed, for advising, for approving. Of these functions, counsel was the most important, and there is more to be learned that was of lasting significance in the development of parliamentary institutions by studying the prevailing idea of counsel in these assemblies than by attempting to generalize about summonses, composition, and procedure.

Consilium, deeply rooted in theology, psychology, and law,¹⁵ had come to be understood almost instinctively as the way to wisdom for fallible men. I need not dwell here on the diversities of this complicated term: its meaning as a moral imperative, or as a legal obligation or right, or its meaningful early confusion with the word *concilium*. What is important to notice is that, in the lay practice of the Middle Ages, counsel is mentioned with exceptional frequency in military situations. This was only natural in a warlike society, to be sure, and it satisfactorily explains why counsel very early took its place with aid (*auxilium*)—meaning, primarily, military aid—as one of the two basic services required by feudal lords from their vassals.

It should be stressed that *consilium* and *auxilium* were quite distinct things. Historians have done good work in demonstrating the different institutional developments that originated in these obligations. But it has not, to my knowledge, been sufficiently remarked that counsel and aid, even though distinct, were nevertheless closely related to each other. The two terms were habitually linked in common usage. An archbishop of Reims, in doing fealty to the first Capetian kings late in the tenth century, promised “to give them counsel and aid according to my knowledge and ability in all affairs, and not knowingly to help their enemies, either with counsel or with aid.”¹⁶ A generation later Bishop Fulbert of Chartres expressed the vassal’s positive duties in similar terms, but even more succinctly: that “he faithfully perform counsel and aid for his lord”;¹⁷ and the success of Fulbert’s

¹⁵ See, e.g., the scriptural (Douay) “do thou nothing without counsel, and thou shalt not repent when thou hast done,” *Ecclus.* 32:24, quoted by St. Basil, *Long Rule*, question 48, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . . Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (166 vols., Paris, 1857–66), XXXI, 1037–38, and later by St. Benedict, *Regula*, Chap. III. The possible wider significance of Benedict’s Chapter III (on decision making with counsel by the abbot) is brought out in a stimulating paper, unfortunately unprinted, by P. L. Ward, “On the King’s Taking Counsel” (1960). See also, for feudal France, the good discussion by G. I. Langmuir, “Counsel and Capetian Assemblies,” in *Études présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l’Histoire des Assemblées d’États*, XVIII (Louvain, 1958), 25–32; and for England, in a different perspective, J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (2d ed., London, 1963), Chap. VIII.

¹⁶ Act quoted by Richer, *Histoire*, ed. Latouche, II, iv, Chap. LX, 246. Langmuir, “Counsel and Capetian Assemblies,” 26, cites Abbo of Fleury for early evidence of counsel as an imperative, but it should be noted that Abbo speaks of “aid and counsel.” The early history of these associated terms in feudal practice is treated by Heinrich Mitteis, *Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt* (Weimar, 1933), 59–65, 312–14.

¹⁷ *HF*, X, 463.

classic analysis of the feudal relation probably helped to make "counsel and aid" the idiomatic commonplace it had become by the twelfth century.¹⁸ Apart from their feudal specificity, the associated ideas readily lent themselves to general metaphorical applications.¹⁹ The popularity of the concept they expressed is the more easily understood when we recall the prevailing medieval disposition to glorify personal wisdom and prowess in combination.²⁰

Counsel and aid, then, were related. Let us now remark that these related but distinct concepts tended with time to be confused with each other. For this result *auxilium* was chiefly responsible. Semantically the broader term, it was easily taken to mean service (*servitium*) of any kind, including counsel; whereas *consilium*, even though it implied judicial as well as advisory service, could hardly be construed to mean aid in any wider sense.²¹

The assimilation of *consilium* by *auxilium*, so to speak, while widely ap-

¹⁸ Fulbert's words were sometimes reproduced in medieval texts, e.g., *Decretum*, c. 22, q. 5, c. 18; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., II, No. 1438. For a few random references to *consilium-auxilium* in the twelfth century, see Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, IV, xii, Chap. xix, 364; Galbert of Bruges, *Meurtre de Charles le Bon*, ed. Pirenne, Chap. cvii; *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró (41 vols., Barcelona, 1847-1910), IV, 141, 263, 280.

¹⁹ Probably one should speak of the feudal usage as derived from an association of terms that was already traditional, but I have not fully investigated the background. See, however, Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Charles Plummer (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1896), I, i, Chap. xvii, 33-34: British leaders, confronted with Pelagian heresy, "inueniunt salubre consilium, ut a Gallicanis antistibus auxilium belli spiritalis inquirant." The passage is reproduced in *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, I, 185; see also Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1905), 126, 138. For use of the terms in other nonmilitary contexts, see *Liber Feudorum Maior: Cartulario Real*, ed. F. Miquel Rosell (2 vols., Barcelona, 1945-47), I, No. 5; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, IV, xi, Chap. xxxiii, 277; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, Chap. xxxii, 264; Eadmer, *Life of St. Anselm*, ed. R. W. Southern (London, 1962), 167; *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, II, 230.

²⁰ See, e.g., Dudo of St. Quentin, *De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum*, ed. J. Lair, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 3d Ser., III (No. 2, 1865), 237: "Quis Constantinensibus et Bajocensibus vidit fortiores in bello, prudentiores in consilio?" Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, Chap. xxi, 160; *Guigemar*, in *Les lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jeanne Lods (Paris, 1959), lines 27-44 (3-4); "Chronique latine des rois de Castille jusqu'en 1236," ed. G. Cirot, *Bulletin Hispanique*, XV (1913), 37; *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, I, 17.

²¹ Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (7 vols., Paris, 1840-50), discusses *auxilium* chiefly in the various senses of its specific meaning as a payment. J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1954-), illustrating *auxilium* in the broad sense, cites passages mentioning *auxilium* with *consilium*. These seem to me, however, to demonstrate "aid" in its meanings other than those denoted by "counsel." On the other hand, his quotation (about 1097): "'Comes Hanoniensis domino suo episcopo Leodiensi servitium et auxilium ad omnia et contra universos homines . . . debet'" may well illustrate *auxilium* not in the specific military sense for which it is cited, but in a wider sense as inclusive of counsel. The significant notion of "counsel (or court) and aid against all persons" was especially common in southern France and Spain; see Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 23, and *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, Nos. 110, 166. *Consilium* had become bellicose by keeping too close company with *auxilium*! Du Cange cites *auxilium consilii* and *auxilium curiae*, but the former term as such appears to be his own and the latter has a technical meaning irrelevant here. The *Summa de Legibus Normannie*, ed. E.-J. Tardif, in *Coutumiers de Normandie* (2 vols., Rouen, 1881-96), II, Chap. xii, 38, speaks of "consilii et auxilii iuvamentum."

parent in charters, in those, for example, of Burgundy and Navarre,²² can best be seen in the investigations of feudal rights made by kings and lords in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I suspect that these investigations have more interest for early parliamentary institutions than historians have realized. The fact is that lists of feudal recognitions usually specify military obligations but not conciliar ones. The *Cartae Baronum* of 1166 were concerned with knight service in England; six years later Henry II obtained analogous information on knights' fees in Normandy.²³ In France the royal inquiries begun under Philip Augustus, though rather diverse in purposes, are especially rich in detail about military duties, some being exclusively military, but they have little to say about conciliar or judicial obligations.²⁴ The same imbalance manifests itself in southern France and Aragon in the thirteenth century. For instance, in 1259, when 159 nobles of Agenais made recognitions of their fiefs and obligations, only one of them volunteered that he owed "court" as well as homage and knight service to the king.²⁵

What is the meaning of the fact thus illustrated? Surely it cannot be simply that feudal counsel was declining in value after about 1150. The same thing, after all, might be said of knight service with almost equal truth. The reasons for this continued emphasis on military obligations, it may be suggested, are somewhat as follows: that military necessities remained paramount in this period; that the obligations denoted by *auxilium* were broad in nature, and easily convertible (into payments of money, for example; this is, indeed, the usual meaning of *auxilium* in the recognition rolls²⁶); and that as a matter of practical experience lords who could convoke their men armed for battle could fairly well count on being able to convoke them for other purposes, too. Anyway, what *were* the other reasons for gathering knights in assembly? Those summoned to fight would necessarily convene at the outset, listen to explanations, and give counsel. For nonmilitary policy

²² See Jean Richard, in *Mémoires de la Société pour l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des Anciens Pays Bourguignons, Comtois et Romands*, XIII (1950-51), 283; *Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196-1384)*, ed. J.-A. Brutails (Paris, 1890), xxx, 1, 5.

²³ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (3 vols., London, 1896), I, 186-445, II, 624-45; *HF*, XXIII, 703; C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 8-10; see also *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, ed. C. G. Crump and H. C. Maxwell Lyte (3 vols., London, 1920-31), I, esp. 52 ff.

²⁴ *HF*, XXIII, 608-723; see also *Documents relatifs au Comté de Champagne et de Brie, 1172-1361*, ed. Auguste Longnon (3 vols., Paris, 1901-14), I, records of fiefs. Military obligations were usually recorded in the form of castle-guard in Champagne. Cf. Paul Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1902), 298-301.

²⁵ Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 81-82; for Aragon, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, Registros, VIII, fols. 1-6v.

²⁶ See, e.g., *HF*, XXIII, 610, 613, 634.

and ordinary administration the greater lords had little use for vassals en masse; there can be no mistaking the trend toward specialized counsel at the expense of feudal. It is true that there was still need of vassals for judging, the nobles being especially tenacious of their presumed characteristic judiciousness. The theoretical obligation of attendance apparently had its longest life in this sense. Significantly, when this obligation is mentioned in feudal investigations, it is usually "court" (*curia*) or "plea" (*placitum*), not *consilium*, that is specified.²⁷

Auxilium, therefore, came to mean, or imply, *consilium* in addition to military service; but there is probably another reason why princely officials in the later Middle Ages tended to ignore "counsel" *eo nomine* when recording their dues. It is precisely in the period when such records began to be kept that *consilium* began to be recognized as a right as well as an obligation by the people summoned to give it.²⁸ This, of course, was a landmark in medieval constitutionalism. When subjects became as interested as rulers in counsel, there was less reason for rulers to make a point of it. Thenceforth it is the custom books, charters, and privileges that can be expected to furnish the best evidence on the principles of consultation. And when we come to consider the military interests of later medieval assemblies, we must be prepared to think of the tradition of counsel both as right and as obligation.

Now I should like to suggest that the notion of counsel that was perpetuated in the councils, parliaments, and representative assemblies after 1215 continued to some appreciable extent to be that of a "military counsel" such as just described. The "peace of the thirteenth century" was often threatened and sometimes broken, and among the more notable convocations to discuss military projects may be mentioned the great courts of Jaime I before the Aragonese conquests of Mallorca and Valencia in 1228 and 1236, and the great council of 1242 in which Henry III of England requested "counsel and aid" for his Gascon campaign.²⁹ Moreover, the traditional militancy of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 614, 647; cf. *Documents relatifs au Comté de Champagne*, ed. Longnon, I, Nos. 1147, 1164; see also Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 81-82. Catalan charters often specify *curtes* (or *cortes*) and *placitos* among obligations, e.g., *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, Nos. 175, 263, 341, 416. Cf. Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (2 vols., Paris, 1939-40), I, 340-42, tr. L. A. Manyon (Chicago, 1960), 221-22.

²⁸ By this rough generalization I do not mean to imply that the right to give counsel was identical with the obligation to take it. (Cf. Langmuir, "Counsel and Capetian Assemblies," 26-27.)

²⁹ *Colección de documentos inéditos*, ed. Bofarull y Mascaró, VI, 95-98; *Cortes de . . . Aragón*, I, No. 17, 112-22; *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Louis Barrau-Dihigo and Jaime Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), xi, 19 (also xxvii, 4, 58), xi, 19-20 (also xxvii, 5, 58); E. S. Procter, "The Development of the Catalan *Corts* in the Thirteenth Century," *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch: Miscel·lània d'Estudis Literaris Històrics i Lingüístics* (3 vols., Barcelona, 1936), III, 532; *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*,

counsel is sometimes discernible in contemporary references to assemblies whose functions were not obviously military. Of Philip the Fair's celebrated national assembly in 1302 a compiler wrote that "Philip convoked all the nobles and communities of his kingdom to Paris, seeking [their] counsel and aid against all men and . . . especially [their petition was] against the pope."³⁰ Now while a statement of this sort carries no authority for the official character of the assembly in question, it is of interest as a witness to popular attitudes. And in fact the phrase about counsel and aid was not yet even officially obsolete since it appears in the summonses for the royal assembly of Tours in 1308 (accompanied by the King's declaration that his opposition to the Templars was in the great Capetian tradition of militant defense of the faith).³¹ Nor was the chronicler's terminology inappropriate. The assembly of 1302, whatever else it may have been, was palpably a council of war. The Pope was represented as an enemy of the faith and of France, and it was reported that the assembled nobles and town deputies responded to the charges with a pledge to expose their property and lives in defense of the King's rights.³² However novel in composition and however new the arguments urged in it, the assembly of 1302 was old-fashioned in its belligerency, militant if not military in function.

We are now in a position to appreciate the bearing of military concerns on the development of representation (in the strict sense) and consent. It will be recognized that the "aid" desired in 1242, as on so many other occasions in the later Middle Ages, was primarily financial aid—*auxilium* in its pecuniary meaning. The relevance of this to the present argument is, of course, that the financial aids and scutages, which in England ought to be levied with the "common counsel of the realm,"³³ continued to be taxes for chiefly military purposes. This is not the place to retell the familiar story of how elements more representative than the magnates who origi-

ed. William Stubbs, rev. H. W. C. Davis (9th ed., Oxford, Eng., 1913), 360-62. See also *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Barrau-Dihigo and Massó Torrents, xxviii, 48, 90; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 228; *Reports from the Lords Committees touching the Dignity of a Peer . . .* (5 vols., London, 1820-29), III, 26, 29-32. The usage *consilium et auxilium* occurs in a parliamentary writ as late as 1 Edward II, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*. . . , ed. Francis Palgrave (2 vols., London, 1827-34), II, ii, 1, but it seems to have become exceptional in subsequent parliamentary texts.

³⁰ Landulf de Columna, *Breviarium Historiarum*, HF, XXIII, 197; see note 21, above, for the concept of "counsel and aid against."

³¹ *Documents relatifs aux États Généraux et Assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel*, ed. Georges Picot (Paris, 1901), Nos. 657-60.

³² *Ibid.*, No. 5 (6-10), No. 6. "Defense" and "preservation" are the motives specified in summonses for assemblies in 1303. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 10-12.) See also the pretense of defense against Boniface VIII in Guillaume de Plaisian's accusation in the assembly of Paris, June 1303, *ibid.*, No. 14 (37-42), No. 15. Cf. generally Strayer, "Defense of the Realm."

³³ Magna Carta of 1215 and subsequent practice.

nally spoke for the English realm came to be consulted about taxation, nor to discuss the comparable progress on the Continent.³⁴ While in a sense the military approach brings us into the consensus of modern scholarship that financial powers were among the decisive factors in the development of representation, it is clear that taxation had ordinarily but a contingent relation to military functions. The essential point lies deeper than this. When C. H. McIlwain reminds us that what kings and princes usually wanted from the townsmen they summoned was aid (and not counsel),³⁵ we should bear in mind that the fundamental aid of most medieval towns—the obligatory *auxilium* of urban custom as of knightly—was active military service.³⁶ For in the first place the aid requested in such assemblies was sometimes service itself rather than money.³⁷ Secondly, a whole class of impositions, notably the scutages and fines, were undisguised commutations of service, and hence not, strictly speaking, taxes at all. Of importance only in the earliest period of representation, this expedient bore witness to the continuity of older principles of military obligation.³⁸ Thirdly, even when, as was more commonly the case, the aid in prospect was a pecuniary levy, the military urgency or liability could be so forcibly stressed as to render its payment virtually a purchase of exemption from service. This is illustrated by

³⁴ See generally C. H. McIlwain, "Medieval Estates," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Gwatkin *et al.*, VII, 672–704; D. B. Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy: A Study of Its Antecedents and Its Rise with Special Emphasis upon Its Growth and Activities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1937), esp. Chaps. I, II.

³⁵ McIlwain, "Medieval Estates," 684. The point is with reference to France.

³⁶ Even where the custom or charters of towns admitted pecuniary aids, these were commonly linked to military needs or obligations, for example, the English Danegeld, but more significantly the "gracious aids" of the later period. Arbitrary military demands as well as tallage were the object of enfranchisement, Carl Stephenson, *Medieval Institutions, Selected Essays*, ed. B. D. Lyon (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), 1–40, 121. See also Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises: Caractères et évolution des origines au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1947), Chap. III; J. M. Font Rius, *Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña* (Madrid, 1946), 50 ff., 64, 95–96, 107, 212–15, 354, 364. See, too, for the military basis of urban representation, Karol Koranyi, "Zum Ursprung des Anteils der Städte an den ständischen Versammlungen und Parlamenten im Mittelalter," in *Album Helen Maud Cam*, I (International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, XXIII), 37–50.

³⁷ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, V, 423–25, VI, 282, cited by M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 76, n. 5; also *ibid.*, 234, 240; B. C. Keeney, "Military Service and the Development of Nationalism in England, 1272–1327," *Speculum*, XXII (Oct. 1947), 547, n. 93; *Colección de documentos inéditos*, ed. Bofarull y Mascaró, VI, 95–98; *Cortes de . . . Aragón*, I, No. 32, 272–77; Archives Départementales, Côte-d'Or, B.11715 (Oct. 7, 1303); Henri Hervieu, *Recherches sur les premiers États Généraux et les assemblées représentatives pendant la première moitié du quatorzième siècle* (Paris, 1879), *pièces justificatives*, 244–45; cf. *HF*, XX, 692.

³⁸ S. K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III* (New Haven, Conn., 1914), Chap. x; F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216–1307* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1962), 31–36; cf. C. W. Hollister, *The Military Organization of Norman England* (Oxford, Eng., 1965), Chap. VII, and H. M. Chew, "Scutage under Edward I," *English Historical Review*, XXXVII (July 1922), 324–36. C.-V. Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris, 1887), 348–50; J. R. Strayer, "Consent to Taxation under Philip the Fair," in *id.* and C. H. Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 44–45, 56–58; Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, Registros, IX, fol. 28v, LI, fol. 1.

the carefully worded writs of 1254 ordering the summons of representative knights in England to grant aid for the threatened war with Castille. A lengthy preamble details the dangerous service to which magnates and twenty-pound tenants in chief were committed, thus making it appear to the other men of the counties that a good payment was but a fair and desirable contribution on their part.³⁹ On the other hand, active military service provided an important basis of exemption from the new lay subsidies of Edward I in the years when they came under parliamentary control.⁴⁰ In short, though the *auxilium* or *servitium* tendered by representative elements undoubtedly broadened in meaning in early consultative experience, its basis and associations were strongly military in origin.

The concept of consent likewise assumes significance in the thirteenth century. Not that consent as distinct from counsel was entirely new in the military councils of this period. It is probable that earlier practice had conformed in a general way to the principle that, whereas defensive wars and field strategy required no more than a prudent consultation or notification of the vassal-warriors, the undertaking of foreign expeditions and offensive wars necessitated obtaining their consent. Orderic Vital, in a remarkable passage that distinguishes clearly between counsel, council, and consent, vividly describes the assembly at Winchester in 1089 in which the magnates "gave their assent" to William Rufus' proposal to send an army to Normandy.⁴¹ Other instances could be cited, especially in connection with taxation and extraordinary service.⁴² It seems unlikely, nevertheless, that consent was yet an important function in military councils before the great development of taxation in the thirteenth century. Not even in 1215, in that section of their petition which became Chapter XII of Magna Carta, were the barons demonstrably interested in the juridical character of the "common counsel" they sought for the levy of aids and scutages.⁴³ But the

³⁹ See Bertie Wilkinson, *Constitutional History of Medieval England, 1216-1399* (3 vols., London, 1948-58), III, 271, 302-303; cf. M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 75-76.

⁴⁰ J. F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290-1334: A Study in Mediaeval English Financial Administration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), 110-16; F. M. Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 523. For the situation in France at this time, see Lot and Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises*, II, 218-24.

⁴¹ Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, III, viii, Chap. ix, 315-17. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, x, Chap. vii, 44; and Hollister, *Military Organization*, 104. The problem of consent in early assemblies of all types is in need of study.

⁴² See M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 226-27; Hollister, *Military Organization*, 104-108; J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, Eng., 1965), 64-66. But consent is rarely specified explicitly.

⁴³ *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 288, 294; cf. *ibid.*, 278. The barons surely had some sense of the legal significance of consent, at least as individuals; moreover the distinction between counsel and consent was well understood in canonical circles. (See, e.g., *Decretum*, d. 63, c. 35, and *glossa ordinaria* to word *Assensu*; c. 12, q. 2, c. 52, with commentary by Huguccio, to word *tractatu*, quoted by Langmuir, "Counsel and Capetian Assemblies," 28; Gregory IX, *Decretales*,

trouble with counsel, as the next generation came ruefully to realize, was that it could be ignored even when it had to be asked. Moreover, kings proved to be less prudent about requesting money for projected wars than about committing themselves to lead armies to battle. The result was that rulers like Henry III, Edward I, and Philip IV found themselves increasingly obliged to obtain consent as well as counsel in their assemblies and negotiations. But they also found that consent was adaptable to requirements of the new age of international war, capable of growing with the realm itself to the recognition of common responsibility for national necessity.⁴⁴

These traditions of military counsel, representation, and consent were confirmed in the parliamentary institutions of the fourteenth century. By the reign of Edward III military matters were understood to be foremost among the *negotia regni* in which the English Parliament had obtained an authoritative voice. The writs of military summons now regularly mention the approval of Parliament to wars and campaigns proposed by the king.⁴⁵ A rather similar development occurred in Spain.⁴⁶ In France, where the constitutional situation differed in important respects, the general Estates of Languedoil likewise had acquired by the 1350's, or rather were enjoying for the moment, extensive powers in military policy and finance. And of the functions assumed by the incipient provincial Estates in this period, none were more important than the provision of troops or of funds for supporting troops and defense.⁴⁷

i, 6, 41, and *glossa*.) Nor was the inclusion of scutage wholly an obstacle to claiming consent, for the barons could reasonably have pointed to the abusive transformation of scutage into a noncustomary tax. Nevertheless, the matter of Chapters XII and XIV is counsel, not consent. It is possible, to be sure, that the barons confused the two, meaning, or meaning to imply, consent by the word *consilium*. If so, as Professor Holt says (*Magna Carta*, 219–20), they blundered in coupling obligatory scutages with gracious aids. But it is unnecessary to charge the barons with both confusion and blunder if we assume that they meant “counsel” by *consilium*. Holt speaks of consent in reference to Chapters XII and XIV (*ibid.*, 204–205, 222, 286–87) without explanation.

⁴⁴ See generally Wilkinson, *Constitutional History*, III, 243–63, 271 ff., 293–321; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 227–32; Mitchell, *Studies*, esp. 348 ff.; Strayer, “Taxation under Philip the Fair”; R. S. Hoyt, “Royal Taxation and the Growth of the Realm in Mediaeval England,” *Speculum*, XXV (Jan. 1950), 36–48; Gaines Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100–1322* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), Chaps. III, VI, X.

⁴⁵ M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 232–41. Despite setbacks in practice under Edward II, the principle of parliamentary approval of war was strikingly manifest in the Ordinances of 1311 and in the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* (which places military affairs first on the parliamentary agenda).

⁴⁶ The earliest representative court of León (1188) obtained the King's promise “quod non faciam guerram vel pacem vel placitum, nisi cum concilio episcoporum, nobilium et bonorum hominum, per quorum consilium debeo regi,” *Córtes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y de Castilla* (5 vols., Madrid, 1861–1903), I, 40; *Cortes de . . . Aragón*, I, No. 32, 273–77, No. 35, 291–317, No. 37, 332–36, No. 39, 459–67.

⁴⁷ Raymond Cazelles, *La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois* (Paris, 1958), 175–77, 213–29; Paul Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administra-*

The foregoing points can be further illustrated from the history of the crusades and of nonfeudal and local experience. A few remarks must suffice here. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, as befitted a community "organized for perpetual warfare," was epitomized in a baronial *haute cour* which derived extensive judicial and deliberative rights from military powers.⁴⁸ Crusading chronicles abound with references to military counsel.⁴⁹ The difficulties arising from inadequately representative decision making sometimes befell crusading armies, foreshadowing an issue that was soon to contribute to a widening of parliamentary participation in England. Thus in the Fourth Crusade the exclusion of the "little men" from the councils of leadership resulted in serious misrepresentation of the army's sentiment on at least two occasions, one of these being when the crucial decision was made to divert the expedition to Zara.⁵⁰

The Council of Clermont in 1095—the first of a long series of major political convocations for "taking the cross"—was also an assembly of the Peace and Truce of God.⁵¹ It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the peace movements for the rise of representation in the turbulent regions between the Ebro River and the Loire. The Catalan Cortes emerged directly from the peace councils of the twelfth century, and the traditional statutes of *pax et treuga* were still being promulgated in the maturing general courts of the later thirteenth century.⁵² In the uplands of

tives de la France (3 vols., Paris, 1890-1903), III, 203-18, 236-45; H. Prentout, *Les états provinciaux de Normandie* (3 vols., Caen, 1925-27), I, 90-121; Joseph Billioud, *Les états de Bourgogne aux XIV^e & XV^e siècles* (Dijon, 1922), 14-17, 329, 369-71. That the French Estates were as ephemeral as war itself may be inferred from P. S. Lewis, "The Failure of the French Medieval Estates," *Past and Present* (Nov. 1962), esp. 15-16. See also the "Joyeuse Entrée" of Brabant, in Ria van Bragt, "De Blijde Inkomst van de Hertogen van Brabant Johanna en Wenceslas (3 Januari 1356) . . .," in *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états* (Études publiées par la Section Belge de la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'États), XIII (Louvain, 1956), 99, 116.

⁴⁸ The quoted words are from John La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 138. On the *haute cour*, see G. J. Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1894), 154 ff.; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 87-104.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., *Gesta Francorum*, ix, 65-66; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, iii, Chap. xxiv, 2; and esp. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, ed. Faral, in the passages cited by Langmuir, "Counsel and Capetian Assemblies," 27.

⁵⁰ Villehardouin, *Conquête*, ed. Faral, I, Chaps. xci-ciii, 194-99; Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924), Chap. xiii, 12, Chaps. xxx-xxxiii, 30-34, Chap. lxxx, 79-80.

⁵¹ See Frederic Duncalf, "The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton (2 vols. to date, Philadelphia, 1958-62), I, 236-50. Langmuir has found that over half of the major French assemblies recognized as "councils" by contemporaries, 1179-1230, were concerned with crusading issues. ("Concilia and Capetian Assemblies," 34-46, 50, 58-59.) For later French assemblies, see Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), Chap. cxliv, 396-400; Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long, Roi de France (1316-1322)* (Paris, 1897), 194-98; Archives Nationales, J.477, No. 1. On the peace movements, see Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Stuttgart, 1964).

⁵² See generally Cortes de . . . Aragón, I, Nos. 1-23; Procter, "Development of the Catalan Cortes," 534-35.

Languedoc several regions became spheres of associative interest centering upon the maintenance of peace through discussion, taxation, and punitive military campaigns. The bishop of Mende summoned representative contingents of parishioners when the castle-based gangsters of Gévaudan caused trouble, and it seems reasonably clear that the peace armies there sometimes doubled as assemblies. The custom of Quercy called for separate negotiations whenever the peace was broken, in diocesan assemblies that included representative townsmen.⁵³ And if peace institutions did not develop vigorously in the valley of the lower Garonne, it was because their function was discharged by a secular assembly called the "general court" of Agenais, which originated in the twelfth century. Composed of nobles and the deputies of towns and villages, this curious little meeting—one of the earliest representative institutions of the Middle Ages—had as its primary business the judgment of disputes that threatened the peace of the countryside. When necessary the assembly, or its presiding official, would order out the "general army" of Agenais, a force that evidently approximated the court in composition.⁵⁴ These diverse forms of military consultation constituted significant precedents for the French provincial Estates.

In England the Norman kings' monopoly on power not only rendered peace institutions superfluous, but also tended to curtail the military initiative of the shires. Even so the Plantagenets used local meetings for regulating military obligations, and in France as well as in England local assemblies of array, like national ones, sometimes turned into negotiating bodies.⁵⁵ Among the first English experiments with concentrated urban representation, moreover, were some royal consultations concerning naval matters and defense with deputies of the Cinque Ports (1204-1235).⁵⁶

Enough has now been said of the bellicose functions of assemblies, perhaps more than enough. It will be necessary, indeed, to qualify some of the points made thus far in order to assess their significance fully. Before doing this, however, it may be well simply to acknowledge the occurrence, ever more frequent, of assemblies that functioned in peaceful, nonmilitary ways. For it remains to notice that in one remarkable respect these assemblies as

⁵³ Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 102-21, 124-32.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 73-93.

⁵⁵ See *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 183-84, 363; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 54-56, 90, 128-29, 132, cf. 240; cf. Keeney, "Military Service," 540, on local discussions for grants of service under Edward I; and, for France, Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 269-70.

⁵⁶ A. B. White, "Some Early Instances of Concentration of Representatives in England," *American Historical Review*, XIX (July 1914), 742-44. We should not overlook the militant leagues of towns, a most typical manifestation of early representative activity in many parts of Europe. (See E. P. Cheyney, *The Dawn of a New Era, 1250-1453* [New York, 1936], 70-73.)

well as military ones—in fact, many general assemblies, regardless of purpose—were influenced from the military quarter. To put it briefly, assemblies presented the men who convoked them with the same administrative problems as armies: how to summon them and whom to summon.⁵⁷ And a common response of administrators was to pattern their handling of assemblies on that of armies.

There is reason to suppose, though it can hardly be proved, that the forms and writs of military summons had priority in time and importance over those for assemblies.⁵⁸ Inclusiveness and precision were always more valued in armies than in assemblies, and, as we have seen, the military obligation was generally taken more seriously than the conciliar. One is tempted to think it not wholly accidental that in England the earliest extant writ of military summons (about 1072) antedates the first surviving conciliar writ by nearly a century and a half.⁵⁹ Even if this temptation be resisted, the possibility presents itself that Chapter xiv of Magna Carta—providing for a direct summons of greater tenants in chief, and an indirect summons of other king's tenants through the sheriffs, to gatherings of the realm—was modeled on a type of military summons that was already traditional in 1215.⁶⁰

This possibility seems to have been little discussed, which is rather surprising in view of the perplexity that Chapter xiv has occasioned among historians. My own concern is not so much with the form of summons therein prescribed as with its range. The “direct-indirect” form or style was probably known in conciliar writs, as it certainly was in military ones, well before 1215.⁶¹ What has seemed difficult to understand is how Chapter xiv

⁵⁷ The question whom to summon might, it is granted, be a political as well as an administrative question.

⁵⁸ What little is known of English convocation writs before 1200 is summarized by R. C. Van Caenegem, *Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill: Studies in the Early History of the Common Law* (London, 1959), 183, 186–87.

⁵⁹ *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 97, 277. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), 64–65, are unconvincing in their doubt that the directive to the abbot of Evesham was a military writ. That the King may have had something to discuss with the “milites . . . paratos” is quite possible, and would support the thesis I am offering. The few writs of summons cited by Van Caenegem (*Royal Writs*, 183, 186n.–87) include some that are explicitly for castle-guard but none explicitly for king's court or assembly. Cf. William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development* (latest ed., 3 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1896–98), I, 607–609; Hollister, *Military Organization*, 28, 88–89.

⁶⁰ *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 295; cf. G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Constitution* (2d ed., New Haven, Conn., 1920), 226–29. M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 29, says in effect that the “direct-indirect” type of military summons was in use under the Norman kings. Its existence is implied by the writ of about 1072. Van Caenegem (*Royal Writs*, 186n.–87) states that it “became familiar” in the reign of Henry III, an assertion that possibly allows too little for the accident of enrollment.

⁶¹ See note 60, above; also *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 97, 277, 282; *Reports . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 1–2. The sheriff is not essential to such a form.

could realistically have described a summons for deliberative purposes, since, as the late Sidney Painter pointed out, a full convocation of chief tenants according to the scheme of that chapter would have produced an unwieldy crowd of eight hundred to twelve hundred persons. But before accepting the conclusion Professor Painter drew from this, that the assembly of Chapter xiv was "an abortive innovation,"⁶² we may do well to recall that what that chapter prescribes is merely a process of summons for obtaining the "common counsel" of the realm; the assembly to result from this summons is nameless. Now, from the military point of view, a convocation according to Chapter xiv could hardly have been altogether novel, because it would have been approximately the feudal or royal host.⁶³ Nor was a military gathering a wholly unlikely occasion for discussing the aids and scutages of Chapters xii and xiv in 1215, for King John had recently been demanding money from his tenants *before* campaigns, and these impositions had sometimes come under debate in the host itself.⁶⁴ But we must not replace the imagined council of Chapter xiv with an imagined army. The point is simply that the men charged with devising a consultation over impositions associated with their military obligations seem to have had in mind a type of military summons that would bring together precisely those who were most concerned. It is true that Chapter xiv betrays presumption (if not confusion) and ambiguity; no wonder it was dropped from reissues of the Charter.⁶⁵ But its elements are mostly consistent with the hypothesis of a military derivation, including the provision for proceeding even in the absence of some of those duly summoned. Whatever its implications for assemblies, this was the usual procedure in armies.

The future privilege of peerage foreshadowed in Chapter xiv was rooted in the military-conciliar ambiguity. When the series of enrollments begin early in the thirteenth century, a custom of the summons has so evolved as to verge on identity in writs for deliberation and for service, re-

⁶² Sidney Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943), 48-49. There does, however, seem to be evidence of occasional very large conciliar gatherings. Two such, cited by Stubbs (*Constitutional History*, I, 606), are remarkable for having been, in some sort, military musters. Cf. J. E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England from the English Settlement to 1485* (3d ed., London, 1954), 258, who believes that the main innovation of Chapters xii and xiv is "the insistence on formal summons and the right of attendance."

⁶³ Including nonmilitary tenants, it is true, and excluding subtenants, but also including all important warriors or leaders. The military summons cannot normally have been limited to tenants by knight service. (See Hollister, *Military Organization*, 72-73; Holt, *Magna Carta*, 198; *Reports . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 7.)

⁶⁴ See Mitchell, *Studies*, Chaps. II-IV and 316. There are clear or possible cases of financial negotiations or impositions in armies in 1201 (*ibid.*, 35), 1204 (*ibid.*, 63-65; a council had previously discussed the expedition), 1205 (*ibid.*, 69-70), and 1211 (*ibid.*, 101).

⁶⁵ Cf. note 43, above; and see Adams, *Origin of the English Constitution*, 220-29, and Holt, *Magna Carta*, 218-21, 271, 286-88.

quiring an honorable address, reasonable delay, and the specification of place, time, and cause; these requirements find clear expression in Chapter xiv. The chancery rarely fails by this time to distinguish between military and conciliar service,⁶⁶ but it may be harking back to simpler days when it occasionally makes a single writ do double duty. Perhaps it is not always remembered that the first known summons of representative knights to the king (1213) is coupled with a summons of knights in arms.⁶⁷ More or less similar orders of this dual character are to be found in England throughout the thirteenth century.⁶⁸ Especially interesting and curious, given its relatively late date, is the summons of twenty-seven magnates "cum equis et armis" to *Parliament* in 1261.⁶⁹

In France few written summonses survived, even in the thirteenth century.⁷⁰ But such evidence as we have suggests that there, too, the conciliar summons may have been derived from the military; certainly the two types continued to be related.⁷¹ Continental formularies that I have sampled limit themselves, among secular documents, to military writs,⁷² although one twelfth-century *ars dictaminis* gives an illustrative subsummons of urban knights and townsmen in arms to an imperial diet at Roncaglia.⁷³

There remains the important question: to whom were the writs addressed? The administrative value of formalized writs was that they could be routinely copied and distributed to quantities of listed persons or communities. Chancery lists must have existed as early as military summonses became recurrent; for that matter almost any sort of survey of tenure and

⁶⁶ Cf., however, *Reports . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 31-32 (Mar. 18, 1264): "vos rogamus [King to magnates] quatinus totum posse vestrum tam amicorum quam aliorum quos perquirere poteritis dictis die & loco vobiscum adducatis super hiis consilium & auxilium efficac una cum aliis fidelibus nostris impensuri."

⁶⁷ *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 282; the point may also be illustrated by the writ of 1254 (*ibid.*, 365-66) for executing a military summons and ordering representative knights to the king's council.

⁶⁸ E.g., *Report . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 19, 21, 23, 31-32, 36; R. F. Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester, 1932), 326; *Parliamentary Writs*, ed. Palgrave, I, 10, No. 1.

⁶⁹ *Report . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 23. The *Lay of Havelok the Dane*, ed. W. W. Skeat, rev. Kenneth Sisam (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1915), seems to echo the verbiage of a military-conciliar summons, lines 2531 ff.

⁷⁰ Cf. the remarks of C. H. Taylor, "The Composition of Baronial Assemblies in France, 1315-1320," *Speculum*, XXIX (Apr. 1954), 433, 452; see also Langmuir, "Concilia and Capetian Assemblies," 48-49. Has the earliest extant epistolary summons to a central Capetian convocation been identified as such?

⁷¹ See Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 138, 187, 196. Military convocation lists, discussed in the next paragraph of the article, antedate lists for assemblies; they imply the existence of writs.

⁷² E.g., "Curialis," mid-thirteenth century, ed. Ludwig Wahrmund, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter* (7 vols., Innsbruck, 1905-31), I, iii, 60, No. 202, illustrating a French feudal subsummons in response to the king's summons.

⁷³ "A Twelfth-Century 'Ars Dictaminis,'" ed. Wieruszowski, 390-91; cf. Guilhiermoz, *Origine de la noblesse*, 259, n. 10.

obligations might have served usefully in the administration of convocations. Lists for a growing variety of purposes were recorded with writs in England after 1200 and in Aragon after 1250.⁷⁴ As for France, though the writs are generally missing, a number of military convocation lists, whole or fragmentary, are available from 1236 on.⁷⁵ There are also some lists enumerating French towns with their service obligations;⁷⁶ these records have especial interest, partly because the towns continued to be represented in royal armies,⁷⁷ but also because the first assemblies of Capetian towns are very obscure. During the reign of Philip the Fair military lists become fuller and are joined in survival by writs as well as by lists for financial and unspecified uses.⁷⁸ C. H. Taylor has already pointed to the possible significance of some of these lists for helping to identify a "core-group of barons for general royal purposes."⁷⁹ Surely we may assume that, in a period of French history when assemblies continued to be more experimental and less organized than armies, lists such as these were used in constituting assemblies. This seems the more likely because even in England, where by 1300 the administration of assemblies was much more advanced, military convocation lists continued to be the basis of the parliamentary summons of magnates.

In a penetrating article on the problem of peerage, Round noted, almost incidentally, that the writs for the assembly at Shrewsbury in 1283 corresponded in address to those for the summons of an army in the second Welsh war.⁸⁰ Jolliffe, looking further, found virtual identity in the lists of magnates summoned in 1297 to war at Newcastle and to parliament at Salisbury. In the next year some thirty names were cut out and others added, and the host of Carlisle, convoked in this form in 1299, was to be the model

⁷⁴ The English chancery enrollments are too well known to require citation. For Aragon, see Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, Registros, e.g., VIII, fols. 1-6v, 24, 30-32v, 66-68v, IX, fol. 37v, X, fol. 4. While diverse, these first Aragonese lists have a predominantly military nature.

⁷⁵ *HF*, XXIII, 725 ff.; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., V, No. 445.

⁷⁶ *Prisia Servientum*, *HF*, XXIII, 722-23, dating from the reign of Philip Augustus; cf. *ibid.*, 730-31, summons list of 1253 mentioning communes with burdens only approximately corresponding to those specified by the *Prisia*. The later list also mentions towns of Guienne (and see, too, *Rôles Gascons*, ed. F. X. Michel and Charles Bémont [4 vols., Paris, 1885-1906], I, Nos. 1587, 1594, 3631). See also *HF*, XXIII, 737, 751-52, 785, and generally Le Colonel Borrelli de Serres, *Recherches sur divers services publics du xiii^e au xvii^e siècle* (3 vols., Paris, 1895-1909), I, 485-527.

⁷⁷ See *Chroniques de St-Denis*, in *HF*, XXI, 104, report of a military convocation of communes in 1227; Borrelli de Serres, *Recherches*, I, 513; *HF*, XXIII, 734-52.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 786 ff.; see also Guilhiermoz, *Origine de la noblesse*, 282-83, nn. 79, 80. Lists for military or general uses by the Count of Flanders turn up at the same time. (Archives Départementales, Nord, B.1266, Nos. 234, 235.)

⁷⁹ Taylor, "Composition of Baronial Assemblies in France," 451-53. The earliest extant "general purpose" list dates from the reign of Philip Augustus. (*HF*, XXIII, 682-86.)

⁸⁰ J. H. Round, "The House of Lords and the Model Parliament," *English Historical Review*, XXX (July 1915), 389, cited by M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 232.

for the parliamentary summons of lay lords during the next seven years.⁸¹ Thus did military and conciliar leadership continue to be thought of as identical in the fourteenth century.⁸²

Most of the military influences, indeed, assumed renewed importance in the fourteenth century—an epoch of renewed conflict. In function as in form the assemblies of the later Middle Ages were significantly oriented to military requirements. But this was no simple reversion to the rough parliamentarism of the early feudal age. Assemblies had in the meantime acquired notable functions of nonmilitary kinds, particularly during the relatively peaceful decades of the thirteenth century, and these functions were not lost thereafter. It may be argued that the most successful assemblies from a constitutional point of view, such as the Cortes and the English Parliament, were precisely those which had proved capable of developing their powers in peace as well as in war. Yet even the nonbelligerent attributes, we should remember, were fostered by the exigencies of war. Taxation has already been mentioned in this connection, and political and judicial activities are also in point. The propagandistic uses of early assemblies, to which Taylor and J. R. Strayer have directed our attention, are most evident in time of war;⁸³ while, according to the suggestion of Gaines Post, Parliaments of Edward I were, in a legal sense, sitting in judgment on the King's "case" for military support.⁸⁴ Plainly it will not do to think of war in a narrowly military sense. The political aspects of war attained increasing prominence in the assemblies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as rulers, helped by the progressive ordering of their peoples within definite and defensible boundaries, gained better control of the wars they fought. Some of the assemblies mentioned in preceding pages were "military" only, or chiefly, in this political sense. As the engrossing immediacy of warfare begins to give way before governmental progress, moreover, a certain archaism or formalism becomes perceptible in some of the specifically military aspects of late medieval consultation. The use of military lists in constituting parliaments possibly indicates administrative conservatism as much as political necessity. And the militant feudal terms that per-

⁸¹ Jolliffe, *Constitutional History*, 348.

⁸² M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 162–63, demonstrates the persistent affiliation of military and parliamentary summons lists down to 1385, with the latter having priority in some cases.

⁸³ Strayer and Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation*, 82–85, 151–73; see also J. R. Strayer, "The Statute of York and the Community of the Realm," *American Historical Review*, XLVII (Oct. 1941), esp. 5–8.

⁸⁴ Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, 110–17. The general court of Agenais certainly functioned in an analogous way.

sist in writs and descriptions of assemblies evoke a strain of traditional thought about consultation that was beginning to lose its relevance in the new royal politics of the fourteenth century. But it was only much later that armies and their interests drastically broke with assemblies. The modern inheritance of legislative control over standing armies and war appropriations⁸⁵ is a much-reduced remnant of the military accumulation in medieval representative institutions.

A military and political reality, medieval warfare was also, in the final analysis, a social phenomenon. Its institutions resembled those of consultation in being incidents of a massive organizing of society. How to classify, how to record, how to mobilize or manage: these had come to be the meaningful questions, and they had in common a relevance for military and conciliar problems. The sociolegal changes that determined these administrative questions, such as the "territorializing" (that is, standardizing) of obligations, the consolidation of nobility, and the emergence of an urban class, had a still more evident mutual significance. But this organizing and defining served a kind of social leverage that was ordained primarily to the needs of coercive power. Well might the management of assemblies rest content with its military schooling; so too, in different ways, the appearance of military orders of clergy and the anxious persistence in fortifying cities real and imagined seem symptomatic. The pervasive experience of war—condition as well as cause—forms a social perspective in which the rise of medieval representation can be better understood.

⁸⁵ See, e.g., *The Federalist*, Numbers 24–29, esp. Number 26, where reference is made to the English background; and William Prynne, *The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes* (London, 1643), esp. Pts. 2, 4.

The Decline of Cotton Factorage after the Civil War

HAROLD D. WOODMAN *

THE return of King Cotton after the Civil War brought back also his chief retainer, the factor. In every major cotton market in the South many names, long familiar in the factorage business before the Civil War, began to reappear in advertisements and in planters' correspondence. Some had maintained "business as usual" relations throughout the war and merely continued on into the postwar period. Others were rebuilding a business interrupted by the war. Still others were relative newcomers who, sensing new opportunities, pooled their resources and began business.¹ In any case, the postwar factor, whether a novice or a practiced businessman, initially functioned much as he had during the prewar period.

The ante bellum cotton factor had been the planter's alter ego in the market place. He had served, first of all, as the planter's salesman. Located in the large markets, he knew the needs of the foreign and domestic buyers who congregated there. He was an expert judge of the quality of cotton, kept abreast of the size of each year's crop, and carefully analyzed the latest news on price trends from New York and Europe. The planter

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¹ For evidence of the rebuilding of cotton factorage in various markets after the Civil War, see the following: in Savannah, N. J. Darrell & Co., *Savannah City Directory for 1867* (Savannah, 1867), 24-25; *Haddock's Savannah, Ga., Directory, and General Advertiser*, comp. T. M. Haddock (Savannah, 1871), 357-59; Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *passim*; correspondence from Robert Habersham's Sons & Co. in George Noble Jones Papers, Georgia Historical Society, and in the Harrold Brothers Papers, Emory University Library; in New Orleans, [Andrew Morrison,] *Industries of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1885), 63, 75, 94, 128, 135; *New Orleans and the New South*, comp. Andrew Morrison (New Orleans, 1888), 46, 104; "Edmund Richardson," in Latham, Alexander & Co., *Cotton Movement and Fluctuations, 1876 to 1883* (New York, 1883), 41-44; correspondence from New Orleans factors in John C. Burrus Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Eli J. Capell Papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University; Mrs. Nancy Richey Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Golsan Brothers Papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University; in Charleston, Arthur Mazyck, *Guide to Charleston* (Charleston [1875]), 143-48, 161, 170-71; Robert Goodwyn Rhett, *Charleston, An Epic of Carolina* (Richmond, Va., 1940), 310; accounts and correspondence from factors in Gregorie-Elliott Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Fort Motte Plantation Records, South Carolina Historical Society.

simply sent his ginned and baled cotton to his factor and trusted him to choose the best moment for the most profitable sale.

The factor had also served as a buyer. Whether the planter desired a set of books for his library or shoes for his slaves, several bottles of imported brandy or a barrel of western pork, he had only to ask his factor and the goods would be purchased and sent to the plantation. Again the factor was expected to be sensitive to price trends and was trusted to make the purchases at the least possible cost to the planter.

Finally, the factor had been a source of credit for the planter. If plantation supplies were needed or luxuries desired before the planter had realized any funds from his year's crop, the factor was expected to provide the requested goods on credit. Similarly, if the planter needed cash for the purchase of slaves or land or for any other purpose, the factor was asked to supply it either from his personal reserve or from money borrowed at the bank; repayment in either case was deferred until the crop was sold.²

As before the war, the renascent cotton grower needed supplies, seed, food, and clothing, and he usually needed them before his cotton was ready for marketing. It should not be surprising that he turned to the familiar and traditional means of meeting these needs: the cotton factorage system.

Paradoxically, however, at the very time that the cotton factorage system was being resurrected, signs of its decline could be noted. A combination of technological changes that had begun to affect the cotton trade before the Civil War and the social and economic changes following the war gnawed at the very foundations of the system. Each of the major functions of the factor—salesman, buyer, and supplier of credit—was gradually replaced by other, more efficient agencies, and as this occurred, cotton factorage tended to disappear. Efforts by factorage firms to remain viable in the face of the changes only ensured the eventual collapse of the system.

Two of the factor's key functions, that of seller and of supplier, were undermined by technological change in the form of improved transportation and communication links between the interior South and the outside world. Even before the Civil War, transportation improvements had begun to change the direction of cotton movements and the nature of cotton factorage in some areas of the South. By the 1850's, for example, planters in

² Alfred Holt Stone, "The Cotton Factorage System of the Southern States," *American Historical Review*, XX (Apr. 1915), 557-65; Ralph W. Haskins, "Planter and Cotton Factor in the Old South: Some Areas of Friction," *Agricultural History*, XXIX (Jan. 1955), 1-14; Lewis E. Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 18-37; Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860* (New York, 1961), 200-204; Harold D. Woodman, "King Cotton and His Retainers," doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1964, Chap. 1.

western Georgia and northern Alabama found that the railroads offered them a number of new markets for their crops. The Atlanta and West Point, the Georgia, the Western and Atlantic, and the Memphis and Charleston (and connecting lines), along with the traditional river routes, connected the area with markets on the Atlantic (Charleston, Savannah, and Norfolk), on the Gulf (Mobile, New Orleans, and Pensacola), or in such widely scattered interior points as Augusta, Macon, Montgomery, or Memphis. As a result, comparative prices in the various markets, rather than the availability of transportation, began to determine the direction of cotton movements. The competitive dangers involved in this easing of transportation restrictions in turn dictated accommodative efforts by the factors. To secure or maintain their business, factors began to buy cotton in the interior. They financed local merchants, many of them itinerant, who were instructed to buy up as much of the local crop as they could and then to ship it to them.³

Such practices adumbrated the eventual disintegration of factorage. Not only were factors departing from their traditional role as sellers by becoming buyers as well, but local merchants were beginning to control a portion of the crop. Later, when local buyers no longer needed the financial assistance of the factors and were able to resell their cotton directly to the consumers or to exporters, factorage would become superfluous.

The possibility of direct shipments from the interior to a consuming or foreign market would aid in this development. The beginnings could be seen in the establishment of the so-called "overland route" to the North on the eve of the Civil War. A portent of the future was reported in a Memphis newspaper in the spring of 1860:

The first direct shipment of cotton from Memphis to Liverpool, by the Northern or overland route, was made on Saturday last. The shipment consisted of three hundred bales. It will be taken to Pittsburg by water, thence to Liverpool by the usual means of transportation, there to be sold on account of the Memphis shipper.⁴

A year later a Buffalo paper reported cotton shipments from Memphis to Boston by a direct, west to east route. The cotton had traveled by river to Cincinnati and then by rail to Boston. "This is cheaper than it can be shipped down the Mississippi to New-Orleans, and thence by vessel, and the difference in time is about thirty days in favor of the Northern route."⁵

³ These developments are treated in detail in Harold D. Woodman, "Itinerant Cotton Merchants of the Ante Bellum South," *Agricultural History*, XL (Apr. 1966), 79-90.

⁴ *Memphis Bulletin*, as reprinted in *New Orleans Price Current*, Apr. 25, 1860.

⁵ *Buffalo Commercial*, as reprinted in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XLIV (June 1861), 782-83.

Initially, only a relatively small amount of cotton was involved in the overland route. Of the last crop marketed before the Civil War, only 143,424 bales were sent in a northerly direction, crossing the Ohio River at various points and making connections with the east-west trunk lines in the North. The amount, when compared to the total crop, was slight, but it had risen steadily over the previous years.⁶

When the cotton trade was fully reopened in 1865, the impact of earlier developments in transportation began to be felt more profoundly. In 1865-1866 more than 210,000 bales moved to northern markets via the overland route. By 1869-1870 the number exceeded 350,000 bales, and in the crop year 1879-1880 well over 1,000,000 bales out of a total crop of about 5,700,000 bales used this route. Overland traffic had increased from 2.3 per cent of the total crop in 1859-1860 to over 19 per cent in 1880. Of the total amount of cotton going to northern cities in 1880 via overland and coastwise transportation some 44 per cent went via the overland route; of that portion of the total crop used by northern manufacturers about 72 per cent went overland. In the early *post-bellum* years some of the cotton moving in this northeastern direction traveled part of the way on the Ohio River, but gradually all-rail routes came to predominate. Thus, receipts by river at Cincinnati in 1870 exceeded 146,000 bales, almost 42 per cent of that taking the overland route, but a decade later river receipts at Cincinnati had dropped to about 76,000 bales, less than 7 per cent of the overland total.⁷

East-west railroads south of the Ohio River were also drawing increasing amounts of the crop to the Atlantic ports. In 1859-1860, 24.3 per cent of the cotton crop left the South via the Atlantic ports; in 1878-1879, the proportion going to the Atlantic had risen to 38 per cent.⁸ In part this increase was the result of more cotton going to the older, traditional cotton markets of Charleston and Savannah. But these ports had to share the postwar business with other growing Atlantic ports. Norfolk, for example, which before the war had received only a few thousand bales, most of which had been produced in the immediate neighborhood, became, in the postwar years, a major cotton market. The Norfolk and Western and the Seaboard

⁶ Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States . . . 1881* (House Executive Document, 46 Cong., 3 sess., No. 7, Pt. 2), 187. The increase given is as follows:

1857-58— 9,624
1858-59— 85,321
1859-60—108,676
1860-61—143,424

⁷ *Ibid.*, 188; Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States . . . 1879* (House Executive Document, 45 Cong., 3 sess., No. 32, Pt. 3), 127.

⁸ *Ibid.*

and Roanoke Railroads, completed on the eve of the Civil War, through their connections with other lines, opened the western cotton lands to the Virginia port. By 1875 Norfolk received almost 400,000 bales, and a decade later receipts were approaching the 500,000 mark.⁹

Railroads were obviously changing the pattern of cotton movements, diverting cotton from the Gulf ports that had been pre-eminent when river transportation was the most important means to market. But the railroads did more than change trade patterns; they altered the entire nature of the southern trade. The railroads not only gave sellers the option of several of the older markets, but also opened hundreds of new markets. Cotton marketing moved inland, away from the huge markets on the coast that traditionally had handled the crop. W. H. Tison, the senior partner in a venerable Savannah factorage house, noted the change when he visited Selma, Alabama, in 1870 and saw cotton being purchased there for New York delivery. The cotton was sampled, classed (that is, graded according to color and staple length), and compressed, the whole procedure being "done . . . in Sea Port & business like manner."¹⁰

The services of a seaport factor were totally unnecessary; the entire marketing process was handled in Selma. The cotton Tison saw being purchased for New York delivery might have been shipped to one of the seaports, but a factor did not have to handle it there. When Robert Somers visited Charleston in November 1870 he found cotton exports from the city growing, but the cotton was "giving little return to the town itself" because much of it was simply passing through on its way to other markets. Buyers, he explained, were going "over the heads" of Charleston factors and merchants by making their purchases in the interior.¹¹ Somers watched the procedure in Memphis in February of the following year. Spinners' representatives were buying cotton in Memphis for shipment to Liverpool, a procedure made possible by the "establishment of *through* bills of lading by the various railroad companies in connection with the ocean steamship lines from New York."¹²

Cotton traveling on such through bills of lading was merely transferred

⁹ Wm. F. Switzler, *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States . . . 1886* (*House Executive Document*, 49 Cong., 2 sess., No. 7, Pt. 2), 93-97.

¹⁰ Tison to W. W. Gordon, Jan. 26, 1870, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

¹¹ Robert Somers, *The Southern States since the War, 1870-1* (New York, 1871), 45.

¹² *Ibid.*, 259-60. "The ports of Norfolk, Va., Wilmington, N. C., Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., are not to any considerable extent cotton markets. The cotton which passes through these ports consists largely of direct shipments made from the interior points throughout the South to Northern seaports or manufactories in the Northern States, by means of arrangements entered into between railroads and ocean steamer lines." (Nimmo, *Report . . . 1879*, 125.)

from railroad car to ship at the ports and continued on its way. Even this was expedited; in Norfolk, for example, "railway cars run out on the wharves, where the largest of merchant vessels may lie alongside and receive the bales directly into their holds."¹³ Traditionally, cotton arriving in the ports had been in the form of "gin bales" and before transfer aboard ship had been recompressed into smaller, higher density bales so as to diminish their bulk. But beginning in the early 1870's powerful cotton compresses were built in the interior. This not only obviated recompression at the ports, but also allowed railroad cars to double their previous capacity thereby lowering freight rates.¹⁴

The railroad, through bills of lading, and improved cotton compresses were moving cotton buying into the interior, thereby undermining the old cotton factorage system. Another technological innovation, the improvement of communications, was leading in the same direction. The telegraph, the transatlantic cable, and later the telephone put merchants in every market in almost instantaneous touch with one another. Cotton prices in Liverpool and New York could be known in minutes not only in New Orleans and Savannah, but, as the telegraph expanded inland along with the railroad, in hundreds of tiny interior markets. Somers noted while in Memphis that an English buyer could watch the movement of prices, judge his needs, and then place his order directly, via the telegraph, to Memphis. He could raise or lower his offered price at a moment's notice.¹⁵ The result was obvious. The seller had no need of the expert advice of the factor concerning possible price movements and other market information. In the interior statistics were received regularly and posted for all to see and judge.¹⁶

¹³ Switzler, *Report . . . 1886*, 93.

¹⁴ Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *First Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States (1877)* (*House Executive Document*, 44 Cong., 2 sess., No. 46, Pt. 2), 143.

¹⁵ Somers, *Southern States since the War*, 260.

¹⁶ The great market at Liverpool was also by-passed. John Crosby Brown, himself a merchant connected with various firms bearing his name, firms that had been active in the cotton business, described the change: "Communication between the Old and New Worlds by cable, successfully established in 1866, revolutionized trade between the two countries, leaving the Liverpool merchants connected with that trade without their usual occupation. In fact, the necessity for the intervention of merchants gradually ceased. Manufacturers in England, France and Germany bought their cotton by cable on samples previously sent to them from various places of shipment, i.e., New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Savannah, Galveston, Memphis, and other inland towns. Samples were sent to them from brokers and merchants in these cities, oftentimes accompanied by a firm offer price. These they could examine carefully in their own offices, make their selection for the style of goods they desired to manufacture, and cable either the acceptance of the offer or a counter-offer, with authority, usually arranged through some banker, to draw against shipment. As a consequence warehouse property in Liverpool, largely built for cotton storage, and which had heretofore brought a good return to the owners, was for a time empty, and its value greatly diminished. Consignments of cotton and other produce to Liverpool for sale practically ceased, and to a great extent manufactured goods for shipment

Ineluctably the trend toward interior buying and direct shipments to the manufacturer increased. The 1880 census, in its cotton production survey, chronicled the shift: reports from county after county in the cotton South announced that local cotton marketing was pronounced and increasing. Every town, indeed virtually every stop on the railroad, had become a market where the grower could sell his crop.¹⁷

The southern railroad boom of the 1880's¹⁸ continued the process; by pushing deeper into the interior the railroad opened still more markets. *Bradstreet's* southern correspondents reported the effect. A South Carolinian wrote that in his state "better markets are now open in country towns by reason of foreign buyers sending agents to the interior." From Alabama came the report that "Cash buyers were in every neighborhood, crops were bought up promptly and shipped direct to the mills and export." And a Texas correspondent noted that "Cotton that was formerly sent to commission merchants to be held is now bought by contractors, and goes direct to New England or abroad." The journal found that there were 164 interior cotton markets in the southern states in 1885.¹⁹

By this time it was clear that cotton marketing had altered considerably from prewar days. In 1886 *Bradstreet's* devoted a long article to the "Changes in Marketing the Great Staple."²⁰ The basic change which the journal's correspondents discovered was that interior buying had become "general throughout the south about the year 1875," a development which the editors traced to the railroad and the telegraph. As a result, the business of the old port city markets was undermined. "The sending of cotton buyers into the interior, shipping cotton they buy on through bills of lading, avoiding heavy charges at the ports, has cut considerably into business formerly exclusively enjoyed by those ports." Nor had the process ended. Competition among buyers "leads them every year to go further into the country, and each year sees the remote producer and the mills or exporters brought closer together."

A New England correspondent traced the effects of the change on his

to this country, which had heretofore been attended to by Liverpool merchants, were shipped direct by the manufacturers to the buyers in the United States on a through bill of lading. The old mercantile firms which were the pride of Liverpool soon disappeared." (John Crosby Brown, *A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking* [New York, 1909], 123.)

¹⁷ Eugene W. Hilgard, "Report on Cotton Production in the United States," in US Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Tenth Census* (1880), V, VI (Washington, D. C., 1884), *passim*.

¹⁸ John Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955), 190-93.

¹⁹ *Bradstreet's*, XI (Feb. 14, 1885), 99-100. The listing showed the 164 towns to be broken down by states as follows: North Carolina, 19; South Carolina, 28; Georgia, 17; Alabama, 19; Mississippi, 20; Louisiana, 6; Texas, 34; Arkansas, 6; Tennessee, 15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII (Apr. 10, 1886), 226.

section. Until recently the cotton mills had resident agents in the large port markets who purchased cotton from factors on order from the mills. These agents were given general orders concerning price and quality, but final decisions were "left to their own judgment." This had now largely been abandoned. Mill buyers, the correspondent explained, dealt with brokers who had representatives throughout the interior in the South:

The telegraph is used freely, and the buyer knows hour by hour what cotton can be had for in each of the interior and seaboard markets. He names a price to any mill man who is in need of cotton, and if he receives an order he telegraphs forthwith to his southern correspondent to make a trade. The staple thus being secured a bill of lading is issued.

English buyers, the correspondent added, now utilized the same procedure.²¹

Bradstreet's writers predicted that interior buying would continue to grow. Their predictions were borne out. By the turn of the century the Industrial Commission reported that more than half the crop (55.4 per cent in 1897-1898) was received in thirty interior markets. From these markets the crop moved directly to the consuming markets. Factorage expenses "once considered legitimate are no longer a feature of the movement of this crop." Although 50 per cent of the crop still left the country through New Orleans, Galveston, and Savannah, these cities served merely as expeditors of cotton already bound for the mills on through bills of lading. Local markets—"almost any town of any consequence"—had adequate cotton compresses and were in telegraphic communication with the North and Europe, receiving hourly reports of prices all over the world; from them cotton could be shipped anywhere on through bills. "This system tends to dispense with the middlemen."²²

Postwar factors soon became acutely aware of the competition from inland buyers. Stephen D. Heard, a cotton factor of Augusta, Georgia, for example, found himself in competition with his own business correspondent in New York. A member of the New York firm of Adolphus C. Schaefer & Co. had visited the South in 1865 and arranged a business connection with Heard. In return for any cotton Heard influenced to be sent to Schaefer, the Augusta factor was to receive a rebate of 1 per cent on the selling commission. Thus began a typical southern factor-New York merchant relationship. But the traveling New Yorker was not content with this arrangement. Instead, he went further inland to the smaller markets and

²¹ *Ibid.*, 227.

²² US Industrial Commission, *Report . . . on the Distribution of Farm Products* (Washington, D. C., 1901), 150-52, 167-69, 173, 181-83.

visited some of Heard's customers (or potential customers) offering them the same terms he had made with Heard. One of Heard's old customers in West Point, Georgia, wrote that the Schaefer partner had visited that town and had informed one of the merchants there that "if he would ship his cotton through direct he would save the one pr cent you were getting out of the firm."²³

Through bills of lading had not yet been initiated in the area, and many of those who were interviewed by the New Yorker shipped their cotton to Schaefer & Co. via Augusta and Heard. When Heard requested his return commission on such cotton, he was refused by the New York firm; the company argued that these were not Heard's customers. "The Cotton *was sent to you with orders to ship it to us*. You had no discretion or influence in the matter,"²⁴ the New Yorkers expostulated. This provoked a sharp retort from Heard. He found Schaefer's letter "couched in language evidently intended to add insult to injury," language "characteristic" of those "who have no scruples as to the means used to obtain money from others." Angrily, Heard decided to forego his commissions, and, enclosing a check for the balance he owed, concluded that "our business acquaintance must end."²⁵

Severing business relations might have assuaged Heard's ruffled feelings, but it did not solve the problem. Local planters and merchants could deal directly with New York and receive a rebate on the commission besides. And once through bills of lading were established, as they very quickly were, Heard would not even be called upon to handle the cotton as it went through Augusta. He would have to offer similar terms or lose the business. This was made abundantly clear in a letter from planters in West Point at the beginning of the 1867 marketing season:

We will probably make some two hundred and fifty Bales Cotton this year on our plantations, and will probably buy some, and we want to make an arrangement with some house in your city to ship to . . . but we think that 2½ per cent commissions is more than the planter can afford to pay . . . if you are willing to receive our shipments and deduct half the commissions let us hear from you at once.²⁶

Faced with this competition, the postwar factor had to adjust to new conditions or be driven out of business. One way, open especially to the

²³ W. C. Darden to Heard, Oct. 23, 1865, Stephen D. Heard Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

²⁴ Adolphus C. Schaefer & Co. to Heard, Aug. 15, 1866, *ibid.*

²⁵ Heard to Schaefer & Co., Aug. 31, 1866, *ibid.*

²⁶ Bass & Johnson to Heard, Aug. 29, 1867, *ibid.*; see also F. W. Sims & Co. to Thomas Harrold, Sept. 26, 1865, Harrold Brothers Papers.

factor in the interior, was to become a buyer himself, filling orders from spinners and shipping direct. In the early summer of 1870 Heard's new New York merchants, Austell, Inman & Co., wrote that "some of our spinning friends" were making purchases in the South for direct shipment to the North. The New York firm promised to do its best "to influence some of them to invest in Augusta." Heard was urged to make his charges "as light as possible as orders will seek points where they can be filled cheapest."²⁷

Ironically, in buying for spinners, the factor hastened the decline of the factorage system because the buying department of a factorage house competed against the commission department. In trying to fill his orders, the factor, or agents he hired, scoured the countryside looking for cotton to buy and, in so doing, added to the number of interior buyers who were slowly destroying the commission business.²⁸ Usually the buying department, if successful, became more important and gradually absorbed the commission business.²⁹ Planters soon discovered that their factors would buy their cotton at the going market rate, thus saving the grower the cost of commission charges.³⁰

While improved transportation and communication were undermining the factor's role as cotton seller, these same improvements were doing away with his responsibilities as a plantation supplier. Railroads that brought cotton out of the South from remote interior markets also brought food and manufactured goods from the West and the Northeast directly to southern

²⁷ Austell, Inman & Co. to S. D. Heard & Son, May 2, 1870, Heard Papers.

²⁸ For typical examples of this procedure, see R. W. Reid to Tison, Aug. 12, 1867, Tison to Gordon, Oct. 23, 1869, Jan. 26, Apr. 18, 1870, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Darden to Heard, Sept. 3, 1867, Heard Papers; G[odfrey] Barnsley to Wm. Duncan, June 14, 1869, Barnsley Collection, Archives Division, Tennessee State Library.

²⁹ See William Hustace Hubbard, *Cotton and the Cotton Market* (New York, 1925), 137-38.

³⁰ Tradition and law dictated that without the owner's permission a factor could not buy cotton that was consigned to him for sale; that is, the buying business and the commission business were supposed to be kept separate. The reason, of course, is obvious: as a seller, the factor had the obligation to get as much as possible for his customers; as a buyer, he sought the lowest possible price. The law was made clear early in the ante bellum period; see *Beal v. McKiernan*, 6 Curry (La.) 407 (1834). Many factors advertised that they did no buying at all. After the Civil War, as buying by factors became more common, the separation of the two functions became more important. As late as 1925 a Federal Trade Commission investigation undertaken as a result of a Senate resolution of June 7, 1924, found the buying of cotton consigned to them to be one of the abuses practiced by factors. The charges were strenuously denied by the factors of New Orleans who listed the legal safeguards planters had against this abuse. (See Federal Trade Commission, *Cotton Merchandising Practices*, 68 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Docs., No. 194 [Washington, D. C., 1925]; *Spot Cotton Trade of New Orleans*, 68 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Docs., No. 207 [Washington, D. C., 1925].) Despite law and tradition, it is probable that factors, feeling the pinch of competition, resorted to buying cotton consigned to them. Caution had to be exercised, however. (See, e.g., Tison & Gordon to C. J. Miller, Mar. 17, 1875, Letter Book, 1872-76, Gordon Family Papers, Georgia Historical Society.) The Savannah factors proposed that Miller buy a shipment of eighty-five bales of cotton coming to them for sale, the purchase to be made for Tison & Gordon "as a speculation" with their money. Miller was cautioned to manage the matter "very delicately": "Don't mention any names in Telegraphing and dont Telegraph to us."

village stores. When Whitelaw Reid visited the South immediately after the Civil War, he found New Orleans to be the center for the distribution of western provisions in the Mississippi Valley. As he traveled from New Orleans to Natchez, he noticed that the boat made frequent stops at plantations where supplies, purchased in New Orleans, were dropped off. He found this to be a remarkable example of southern conservatism, for the goods he saw being delivered had been carried from the North past these same plantations on the way to New Orleans only to return "with double freights and double commissions." When he inquired of planters why this method was used, the typical answer was that "Mr. So-and-so, in New Orleans, has sold all his cotton or sugar, and purchased all his supplies for the last ten or twenty years, and he doesn't want to be bothered making a change."³¹

Conservatism, however, would not sustain a system made obsolete by improved transportation. In 1877 Henry G. Hester, secretary of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, described the changed trade relations between New Orleans and the West. The Crescent City never recovered from the disruption of trade during the Civil War, he wrote. Goods from the West bound for Europe or eastern cities no longer went through New Orleans, but went directly, via the railroads, to the eastern areas of the country for consumption or export. Even most of the southern trade was lost:

Twenty years ago the entire States of Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, and Alabama, and large portions of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Georgia, obtained their supplies of provisions, breadstuffs, groceries, and even dry goods, from New Orleans. This was largely the case even ten years ago, but now the local trade is confined to Louisiana, Southern Texas, and only small portions of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and Arkansas. Railroads leading down from the West have penetrated in every direction and touched the Gulf coast at several points. Little by little they have drawn shipments away from the river.³²

The experience in the other port cities was the same. By 1870 Charleston and Savannah had ceased to be ports of entry for western goods. Instead of goods traveling down the Mississippi and coastwise to these Atlantic ports for distribution in the interior, western produce moved directly from the Northwest to central Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee via the railroads.³³ Mobile suffered the same fate. Alabama was no longer dependent upon its port: "The railroads receive the commerce of the interior and carry it, east or west, beyond the State, and return the incoming trade."³⁴

³¹ Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour, May 1, 1865, to May 1, 1866* (London, 1866), 475.

³² Nimmo, *First Annual Report*, 168-69.

³³ Switzler, *Report . . . 1886*, 374.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 444.

With western goods available in the interior, it was no longer necessary for the cotton grower to look to a factor in the ports to make purchases for him. Merchandise from the Northeast, manufactured goods and foreign imports, also by-passed the factors. The trend was evident on the eve of the Civil War. The Boston and Southern Steamship Company advertised in July 1860 that "THEY WILL FORM A CONNECTING LINE WITH THE SOUTH CAROLINA RAILROAD and goods will be forwarded to all ports in the Southern and Southwestern parts of the country, by that and connecting roads, at through rates of freight, relatively as low as by any other steam line whatever."³⁵

In 1869 the nation's leading commercial journal reported that southern buyers from the "minor villages, the corners and cross roads," places "unknown in Northern markets" before the war, "now deal directly with the North." In addition, the journal continued, commercial travelers "go from New York and Philadelphia, and from the manufacturing towns, and solicit direct trade with those with whom business was formerly done by the intervention of the Southern jobber or merchant."³⁶

With buyers and suppliers on hand deep in the interior, two of the factor's services had become less important. The factorage system, nevertheless, did not disappear overnight. Many continued sending cotton to factors to be sold on commission simply because they needed the credit facilities factors offered. A Grenada, Mississippi, correspondent for *Bradstreet's*, while noting the growing trend toward interior selling, added: "The only obstacle in the way of all the cotton being sold to local buyers is the lack of capital with which to make the crop without drawing from New Orleans, where planters get advances on agreement to ship one bale of cotton for every \$10 advanced."³⁷

The familiar ante bellum credit pattern can be seen in letter after letter in the papers of postwar factors requesting supplies on credit and pledging cotton in return. The following is typical:

I am planting on a small scale and have no merchant
I was fortunate enough to have means almost to purchase my supplies for the present year. Consequently have applied to none as yet.
But as you are in the commission business and willing to assist me a little I will send you my crop.

³⁵ Boston *Shipping List*, July 4, 1860, as quoted in Edward Chase Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1948), II, 178.

³⁶ *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, LXI (Nov. 1869), 362; see also Nimmo, *Report . . . 1881*, 77.

³⁷ *Bradstreet's*, XIII (Apr. 10, 1886), 226. The editors indicated that numerous other correspondents in the South had made the same report.

The assistance I want is small one coil of rope & one Role of Bagging one Barrel of flour & one Barrel Mess Pork also one bank of twine If my arrangements suit you pleas [*sic*] forward soon If not let me hear from you.³⁸

But, again, if the need for credit was an element helping to perpetuate the factorage system, it was also a force contributing to its decline. The need did not diminish, but alternatives to the resources of the factor appeared: credit facilities, like the markets, moved inland.

In part the shift was a result of transportation developments that allowed growers to make their purchases locally. Most of the credit advanced by the ante bellum factor had been in the form of supplies and luxuries ordered by the planter during the year with payment not due until the crop was sold. As postwar growers began to get their supplies locally, they began also to get their credit locally. A second and closely related reason for the shift inland of credit facilities arose from the social revolution produced by the emancipation of the slaves. When slaves became tenants, they had to find the means to feed and clothe themselves and to provide themselves with the supplies needed to plant a crop. Local merchants stood ready to provide these facilities. As local credit became available, the factor's domination of this aspect of cotton marketing began to be weakened.

Paradoxically, however, many of the conditions that would ultimately destroy the factor's role as creditor at first helped to resurrect cotton factorage in the ante bellum period. Tenants lacked the financial resources to grow a crop and, like the planters of old, had to find means to secure supplies on credit. Unlike the planter, however, the tenant owned no land and had few tools and other possessions to serve as security for a loan. All he usually possessed was his labor power and the skill required to grow cotton. These "possessions" were transformed into loan security by lien laws passed by every southern state after the war. Creditors could get a prior lien on any cotton grown to the extent of the credit advanced. With this as his security, the planter-landlord often stipulated in his agreements with his tenants that he would supply them with certain necessities or would aid them in securing such supplies. But the planter, himself, rarely had the financial resources to give such aid, and he turned, as he had before the war, to his cotton factor.

In return for the right to sell the crop controlled by the planter-landlord, the factor was willing to extend the credit requested. Often a planter would open a store on his land from which tenants could receive supplies

³⁸ Braxton King to J. Y. Sanders, May 26, 1866, Golsan Brothers Papers. Many similar letters may be found in this collection and in the Heard Papers.

on credit, paying their bill in cotton at the end of the season. The process can be followed typically in the records of Eli J. Capell, who owned the Pleasant Hill Plantation in Amite County, Mississippi. His daybook shows income and expenditures on his plantation beginning in 1849. Entries for the ante bellum period are ordinary planter-slaveowner business records, listing dealings with his New Orleans factors and with other merchants. After the war entries begin to refer to "the Store." While Capell carefully kept his plantation account separate from the store account, the separation was merely a bookkeeping arrangement. He owned both and profited from both. At the same time his postwar entries show dealings with R. Pritchard and later Pritchard & Bickham, the New Orleans factors to whom he sent his cotton to be sold and from whom he received goods on credit to stock his store.³⁹

Local storekeepers, warehousemen, and speculators also turned to the factors for credit. In 1866, for example, a Wetumpka, Alabama, firm, Seaman & Bros., wrote Golsan & Sanders, New Orleans cotton factors, requesting an "accommodation" of "Six or Eight hundred dollars" in groceries and other merchandise. The Wetumpka merchants indicated that they were rebuilding their warehouse and promised to "throw some business to your hands during the season." The New Orleans factors agreed to furnish the merchandise, but stipulated very firm conditions: Golsan & Sanders were to "be the sole Factors & Merchants for Seaman & Bros in New Orleans," and "every possible consignment for sale or for forwarding together with all orders that Mess[rs] Seaman & Bros can in any way influence" was to be sent to the New Orleans firm.⁴⁰

Factors soon discovered that their newfound business lacked the stability of ante bellum factorage. Competition was one problem. Just as the factor as cotton seller had been unable to meet the competition from local buyers, so too did the factor as creditor face local competition. Despite any arrangements to the contrary, planters, tenants, and merchants began to get supplies on credit and to dispose of their crop (or part of it) close to home. A letter from a Mound Bayou, Louisiana, farmer to his New Orleans factor illustrates this new source of competition:

I shipped [*sic*] you 4 Bales Cotton in Janry last and would have sent you 8 bales—but I owed Mr. F. M. Miller here—and give him 2 Bales—And I bought a Mule and gave 2 Bales in payment for it—So you can understand the reason you did

³⁹ Daybook, 1849–76, Eli J. Capell Plantation Diaries and Record Books, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University.

⁴⁰ Seaman & Bros. to Golsan & Sanders, June 21, 1866, Golsan to Seaman & Bros., July 9, 1866, Golsan Brothers Papers; see also Geo. Walter [an employee of Tison & Gordon] to Gordon, June 9, 1871, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[not] get the 8 Bales—You must not think hard of me disappointing you but I could sell the Cotton here for 13 cents—without any expence [*sic*]⁴¹—and had to do it to pay my debts. . . .⁴¹

When a Mobile paper reminded planters of “the great importance of sending forward their cotton to those factors making advances,” it was obviously reacting to this new problem. Numbers of planters “have shipped their crops to other houses, or sold it on the plantations, and left the factor to get his money the best way he can.” If the practice continued, the paper warned, it will become impossible for “the honest planter to get aid when he needs it.”⁴²

The charge of dishonesty often went wide of the mark. The decision to sell locally was usually made on the basis of the probable profit margin. Interior buyers could meet or even exceed prices being realized by factors’ sales because they could save the cost of factors’ commissions. Thus, Seaman & Bros., after promising in July 1866 that they would send all their cotton to Golsan & Sanders in New Orleans, in October wrote that they were withholding their cotton from the New Orleans firm because “there is not any margin between this place & N[ew] O[rleans].”⁴³

The factors were caught in a dilemma. If they withheld credit, they would lose the only remaining basis for their services. Yet if they continued to grant credit, they had no guarantee that cotton would come to them for sale. One solution was to deal directly with the growers (rather than storekeepers) and to take a lien on the growing crop. Heard, for example, began requesting such liens of his customers in the 1870’s.⁴⁴

But the factor was at a distinct disadvantage if he chose to do business in this way. The competition was more than he could sustain. Local merchants had the advantage of being able to display their merchandise to their customers, while a distant factor had to sell goods on order, requiring from the grower both a period of self-denial and the ability to write. Moreover, the local merchant was on the scene and could see that cotton came to him as arranged; a distant factor could not give this close supervision. Tison, obviously remembering his old ante bellum business, complained bitterly of his postwar dealings with small farmers.⁴⁵ The al-

⁴¹ G. E. Thomas to Golsan & Co., Feb. 24, 1871, Golsan Brothers Papers.

⁴² *Planters’ and Exchange Prices Current* (Mobile), Nov. 16, 1867.

⁴³ Seaman & Bros. to Golsan & Sanders, Oct. 11, 1866, Golsan Brothers Papers.

⁴⁴ See Heard Papers, *passim*. Old customers often objected to this requirement. A Georgia farmer wrote indignantly that he thought it very “strange” that suddenly, after having dealt with Heard for fifteen years, the firm began to require a lien on the crop for goods furnished. “I would say to you that my word is my bond and as for giving a lean [*sic*] I dont feel disposed to do so[.] you need not be uneasy[.] if there is enough made on the place you will be certain to get your pay.” (C. E. Barefield to Heard & Son, May 13, 1870, *ibid.*)

⁴⁵ Tison to Gordon, Aug. 21, 1869, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

ternative, as Tison put it, was to deal with "merchants of the first class." Writing in August 1870 he noted that Harrold, Johnson & Co., storekeepers of Americus, Georgia, were among his firm's largest customers and added that he would be willing to lend the Americus firm money without security in hopes of getting some of their business, this with full knowledge that other factors were also lending Harrold, Johnson & Co. large sums for the same purpose.⁴⁶

Thus as cotton growers turned increasingly to local merchants for credit, the factor, in order to retain his cotton business, was forced to concentrate on merchants rather than planters. In 1893 it was noted that the largest and most profitable factorage business was with interior merchants.⁴⁷ Ironically therefore, as the factor's business waned in the face of interior competition, much of what business he continued to retain served to support and, indeed, to encourage his competition. At the same time interior merchants became less dependent upon the credit facilities offered by the factor. Goods from the North, which now came directly to the storekeepers, were usually made available on credit. A traveling salesman representing a firm of New York hardware merchants recalled how he was required "to extend very long credits to almost every buyer" when he went South after the Civil War. Payment was taken in notes of four to eight months, the due date usually timed to the period when cotton was ready for marketing. Even then, it was often necessary to carry a customer over an entire year until the next crops were mature.⁴⁸

Other wholesalers provided similar credit facilities to the country storekeepers. By 1880 credit from the North had become so widespread that conservative voices were counseling restraint. *Bradstreet's* complained that easy credit given to the local merchant allowed him to extend credit unwisely to southern consumers.⁴⁹

The interior merchant's control of cotton, moreover, opened new avenues of credit. Local banks would lend funds to established merchants and would discount bills of lading and crop lien notes; this paper could easily be re-discounted in the larger banks in the cities, North and South.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Tison to Gordon, Aug. 8, 24, 1870, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ H. S. Fleming, "In our Cotton Belt," *Cosmopolitan*, XIV (Mar. 1893), 546.

⁴⁸ Edward P. Briggs, *Fifty Years on the Road: The Autobiography of a Traveling Salesman* (Philadelphia, 1911), 30, 34; see also Thomas Clark, *Pills, Petticoats and Plows: The Southern Country Store* (Indianapolis, 1944), 109-23.

⁴⁹ *Bradstreet's*, II (Apr. 7, 1880), 5.

⁵⁰ Somers, *Southern States since the War*, 141; Hubbard, *Cotton and the Cotton Market*, 139-41; *Bradstreet's*, I (Oct. 22, 1879), 1; Nimmo, *Report . . . 1879*, 148. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* regularly carried advertisements of southern bankers not only from the larger cities but also from such places as Talladega, Selma, Montgomery, and Eufaula, Alabama;

Thus, as his business grew, the local merchant became increasingly independent of the factor. Conversely as the factor's business declined, so too did his ability to command funds he needed to give credit. Cotton on hand or to come had been the valuable security on which the ante bellum factorage system had rested. Less cotton meant less credit, which in turn led to less business.

In the face of competition arising from profound social and technological changes, the cotton factorage system, momentarily resurrected after the Civil War, gradually disappeared. Many firms, some of them with long and distinguished records in the business, simply disintegrated. Many others adjusted their business to new conditions, becoming buyers or furnishing merchants themselves. By the end of the century, C. P. Brooks wrote that "the consignment of cotton for sale has almost died a natural death."⁵¹ Ten years later another cotton analyst wrote that only "a small percentage, comparatively, consign cotton to reliable commission merchants."⁵² Despite reports of its early demise, the system continued to hold on, albeit tenuously. Factorage had steadily declined in importance in the cotton trade, a merchant wrote in 1925, "and, to-day, it is a question whether he [the factor] will not disappear altogether."⁵³ A textbook published in 1938 reported the existence of factors in the South, but found their numbers continuing to decline.⁵⁴

Today, in Memphis and in other markets, a visitor will still find a few firms calling themselves factors, but the use of the word is somewhat misleading. In time the very term lost its former meaning. The factor had performed a multitude of services, not the least of which had been financing the growing and marketing of the crop. This method of financing had become less and less typical, and gradually the term "factor" had come to be applied to any merchant who received cotton for sale on commission even though in most cases the other services—supplier and creditor—were not provided.⁵⁵

By the 1880's it was clear that an entirely new pattern had emerged in the cotton trade. Most growers sold their crop immediately after it was

Americus, Columbus, and Macon, Georgia; Vicksburg, Mississippi; and Wilmington, North Carolina. (See, e.g., *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XI [Nov. 12, 1870], 611.) Often these firms indicated a willingness to buy and sell cotton, and usually they advertised that they had a New York "correspondent" from whom credit facilities were available.

⁵¹ C. P. Brooks, *Cotton* (New York, 1898), 242.

⁵² T. S. Miller, *The American Cotton System* (Austin, Texas, 1909), 103.

⁵³ Hubbard, *Cotton and the Cotton Market*, 136. Hubbard Brothers were New York cotton merchants.

⁵⁴ Harry Bates Brown, *Cotton* (2d ed., New York, 1938), 438.

⁵⁵ Federal Trade Commission, *Report . . . on the Cotton Trade*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Docs., No. 100, Pt. 1 (Washington, D. C., 1924), 29.

picked to the plantation or crossroads village store where they had received supplies, clothing, and other goods on credit during the year. Into these villages came buyers representing foreign firms or New England spinners or simply speculating on their own account. Gradually, however, a new pattern of buying arose also. *Bradstreet's* noted the development in 1886. The opportunities for profit in speculation had brought "a great many irresponsible persons" into the cotton buying business. These people were being weeded out as consumers increasingly sought out the more responsible buyers who would guarantee the quality of the cotton to be delivered.⁵⁶

Bradstreet's prognosis proved correct. Cotton buying became concentrated in the hands of a relatively few large European and American firms. These firms, known in the cotton trade as merchants, had representatives in virtually every market, often using the services of storekeepers and ginners, who bought cotton for them at given prices. The cotton was assembled in a number of given towns where the merchants had huge warehouses to store their cotton while they awaited orders from consumers all over the world. An order would send the proper grade on a through bill directly to the consumer. By the turn of the century a small number of large firms, American and European, dominated this business. In 1904 Frank and Monroe Anderson along with Will Clayton organized Anderson, Clayton & Co., soon to become the largest cotton merchants in the world.⁵⁷

When the Civil War ended, King Cotton reascended his throne, and for a while the old marketing system returned with him. But changed conditions doomed the old way. Even as the postwar factorage system struggled to regain its ante bellum position, new forces tended to undermine the factors' hegemony in cotton marketing. Slowly, but steadily, the factorage system declined, and in its place emerged the furnishing merchants and the merchant-buyers. King Cotton had found new retainers.

⁵⁶ *Bradstreet's*, XIII (Apr. 10, 1886), 226-27.

⁵⁷ US Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, *Extracts from Hearings before a Subcommittee . . . Pursuant to . . . A Resolution to Investigate the Recent Decline in Cotton Prices*, 70 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, D. C., 1929), 3; Beverly Smith, "King Cotton Himself," *American Magazine*, CXXV (Apr. 1938), 18-19, 62-68; Federal Trade Commission, *Report . . . on Agricultural Income Inquiry: Part I—Principal Farm Products* (Washington, D. C., 1938), 3, 313; "Will Clayton's Cotton," *Fortune*, XXXII (Nov. 1945), 138-47, 231-38 (Dec. 1945), 159-63, 231-42; Ellen Clayton Garwood, *Will Clayton: A Short Biography* (Austin, Texas, 1958), 78-95. Still another new element in cotton marketing that should be mentioned, although discussion of it is beyond the scope of this article, is the futures system. The opening of cotton exchanges in New York, New Orleans, and Liverpool in the 1870's, and in other cities later, provided cotton merchants and consumers with the means to protect their large purchases by hedging on the futures market. (For a good discussion of the methods, see Alston Hill Garside, *Cotton Goes to Market* [New York, 1935]; Alonzo Bettis Cox, *Cotton: Demand, Supply, Merchandising* [Austin, Texas, 1953].)

Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH*

"All I say is, kings is kings, and you got to make allowances. Take them all around, they're a mighty ornery lot. It's the way they're raised." Henry VIII is the one king who has never benefited from Huckleberry Finn's tolerant environmentalist explanation for the vagaries of monarchs. He is regarded as just about the orneriest sovereign in English history, yet almost no allowances are made for his despotic behavior. Henry has been inspected, scrutinized, analyzed, psychoanalyzed, and eulogized by a veritable host of medical doctors, psychologists, theologians, and historians, not to mention journalists and novelists, yet possibly his most shocking act—his sudden, inexplicable, and callous rejection during the last year of his life of his own particular brand of Catholicism and his presumed conversion to Protestantism—has escaped serious study or adequate explanation. By and large historians have blandly accepted the myth, first expounded by John Foxe, that Henry was on the threshold of initiating a second religious revolution when he died. Professor S. T. Bindoff has stated the thesis in its most succinct form:

Had the reign lasted a little longer Henry might himself have been numbered among them [the Protestants]. It is fairly clear that before the end the King had come to recognize the need for a shift in officially-sponsored doctrine. He confided his son's tuition to three Reformers, and in his last months he was meditating the crucial step of converting the Mass into a Communion.¹

What is not made apparent in Bindoff's version of the story is the monstrous hypocrisy of the King's actions. During the entire time that Henry was presumably allowing reformers to educate his son in the Protestant faith he was systematically burning and maiming the disciples of that creed; in the same month (August 1546) that he is supposed to have contemplated turning the Mass into a communion he was busy enforcing a proclamation for the public burning of all heretical books; and during the spring and summer of 1546 he sanctioned the martyrdom of seven Protestants, de-

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¹ S. T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (London, 1964), 149-50.

manded the abject recantation of Dr. Edward Crome, and broke out in a towering rage against his Queen's somewhat mystical and humanistic religious views, scornfully announcing that he had evidently come into his old age only "to be taught by my wife."²

There are few people quite so conservative as an elderly and successful revolutionist. Henry had succeeded in one revolution which had rocked and shocked the very core of Christendom; we are supposed to believe that, now in his dotage, he was getting ready to deny the very foundations of his faith, dismiss as unfortunate mistakes the death of a whole series of Protestant martyrs, and with a toss of his hoary old beard cast England to the heretic wolves and himself face his Maker as a confirmed Protestant. Such unprecedented behavior requires some sort of explanation. Jasper Ridley is content to go along with Huck Finn's pronouncement that kings are a mighty ornery lot and to place the motivation beyond reason; "it is perfectly possible," he asserts, "for a despot to adopt a policy of which he has always disapproved, a month after he has had some of his subjects tortured to death for advocating the policy too soon."³ A kinder and more rational solution is that which endows Henry with Machiavellian prescience. Bindoff says: "One thing alone could have prompted this change, his realization that the old faith no longer satisfied enough of his people to serve as a bond of national unity."⁴ More recently, Roger Lockyer has reiterated the Bindoff explanation, adding the even more flattering comment that "it was typical of his attitude that he set aside his own conservative religious feelings when it came to the question of appointing a regency council for his son, and gave the Protestants a majority in it."⁵ G. R. Elton, on the other hand, prefers to question the King's Catholicism and to

wonder about his often stressed orthodoxy, allegedly founded upon doctrinal learning of a professional kind. Certainly he was no Lutheran; but why did he appoint a regency council in his will which assured that Protestantism would triumph after his death? If he was really attached to the mass, to transubstantiation, priestly celibacy and the rest, he went a strange way about serving his faith when he called in [Sir John] Cheke to tutor Edward VI, imprisoned the Howards, and cold-shouldered [Bishop Stephen] Gardiner.⁶

² John Camper, Joan Bette, and Thomas Skygges were executed in May, Anne Askew, John Hadlam, John Lascelles, and John Hemsley in July. Dr. Edward Crome's difficulties are given in John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. George Townsend (8 vols., London, 1843), V, Appendix XVI. So also is the story of Henry and Catherine Parr. (*Ibid.*, 553-61.) The exact date of this last incident is unknown, but the evidence points to the winter or spring of 1546.

³ Jasper Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), 255.

⁴ Bindoff, *Tudor England*, 150.

⁵ Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain* (New York, 1964), 105.

⁶ G. R. Elton, *Henry VIII, An Essay in Revision* (London, 1962), 25-26.

If we accept the interpretation that all these steps were taken to assure the triumph of Protestantism, then what about Elton's riddle, to which there appear to be only three solutions, each as unsatisfactory as the next? It is possible simply to accept the credibility of an extraordinary and unexpected upheaval of religious heart on the part of a crusty old monarch of whom it was said that even "an angel descending from Heaven would be unable to persuade him" once he had made up his mind. Or we can voice Elton's doubts about Henry's religious conviction and grant the likelihood that all along he was a secret Protestant, which, if true, makes the King's character even more villainous than that painted by his most ferocious critics. Finally, we can explain Henry's actions in terms of a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of his subjects and the national unity of his kingdom, but to do so is to clothe him in the unbecoming garb of a good Edwardian monarch. Henry's solution for the religious ills of his age, at least the one that he savagely outlined to his loyal House of Commons only a year before his death, was to equate national unity with inward charity, outward concord, and absolute obedience to the decrees of God's lieutenant on earth. He solemnly warned both Catholic and Protestant: avoid error; "set forth God's Word, both by true teaching and good example-giving; or else I, whom God hath appointed His vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty."⁷ If Henry had any solid nineteenth-century notions about the future prosperity of his peoples and the social cohesion of his realm, he rarely bothered to state them; instead, when he heard that his subjects were complaining about overtaxation and tampering with ancient religious customs, he growled that he would shortly make these ungrateful subjects "so poor that they would not have the boldness nor the power to oppose him."⁸ It would seem that Henry's answer to most problems was never to "set aside his own feelings" for the good of his people, but to applaud the words of Mr. Robert Simpleton, who publicly recanted his heretical religious opinions by saying "I am an unlearned fantastical fool. Such hath been my preaching and such hath been my writing, which I here before you all tear to pieces."⁹

The fact remains that we are faced with a dilemma. Henry's conversion is utterly unexpected; it seems to contradict everything we know about the man; and it confronts us with Elton's query—why did he do it? On the other hand, the evidence seems to be conclusive, resting upon the undis-

⁷ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, 535.

⁸ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer *et al.* (21 vols. in 33 pts., London, 1862–1910), XVI, 589.

⁹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, Appendix XII.

puted facts that his son did become a Protestant, that a majority of Edward's regency council, selected by Henry himself, favored the Reformed faith, and that the King did make the startling suggestion that he and Francis I cast out the pope, reform the Mass, and together join in a league against the forces of Rome. The only way to resolve the riddle is, like Huck Finn, to make "allowances" and take another look at the facts. The evidence is of two kinds: two direct statements by Foxe that Henry was getting ready to tamper with his religious settlement of Catholicism without the pope, and hints elsewhere that Parliament and Convocation would be asked to sanction further religious innovation;¹⁰ and circumstantial evidence drawn from the events of the last months of Henry's reign and the subsequent triumph of *Protestantism under Edward VI*—specifically, the selection of the regency council, the education of Prince Edward, and the destruction of the Howards, father and son.

The presumptive evidence proving Henry's change of religious heart is fairly easy to question, for the logic is immediately suspect. Because A causes B and B causes C, it does not necessarily follow that A is in direct causal relationship with C. Because Henry controlled and selected the personnel of his son's regency council and those appointees overturned his religious settlement and introduced the Protestant creed, it does not follow that Henry favored the triumph of Protestantism, or, as Bindoff puts the argument: that it "showed that what Henry did not live to do he expected to be done after his death."¹¹ Or again, although Edward VI was an undoubted Protestant after 1547 and was educated by two men who became avowed reformers, this does not prove that they were indoctrinating their royal pupil with heretical ideas during his father's lifetime. Finally, there is no clear indication that the destruction of the Howards was in any way tied up with Henry's religious views. In fact, the evidence in each case suggests a totally different interpretation of the events.

Henry's purpose in refusing to select a Lord Protector for his young son and naming instead in his last will and testament sixteen "entirely beloved" but absolutely equal advisers to a council of regency, which was saddled with strict majority rule and had no machinery for recruiting new members, has been a matter of immense confusion and debate. The subject has been explored elsewhere;¹² suffice it to say here that it is perfectly possible to argue

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 692; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 605, 621.

¹¹ Bindoff, *Tudor England*, 150.

¹² L. B. Smith, "The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII: A Question of Perspective," *Journal of British Studies*, II (Nov. 1962), 14-27; Mortimer Levine, "The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII: A Reappraisal Appraised," *Historian*, XXVI (Aug. 1964), 471-85.

that the composition of the council, far from representing Henry's judgment about the future of the Protestant faith, merely indicated the King's immediate and personal relationship with those about him during the month of December 1546, when he was in a peevish rage with Stephen Gardiner over the transfer of episcopal lands and was alarmed by the treasonous activities of the Earl of Surrey. Henry used his will and the council of regency named in it as a weapon to discipline and control his court during the final month of his life, when all thoughts were turning from a dying old man to his nine-year-old son. The threat of being read either into or out of the council was sufficient to keep even the most scheming and ambitious courtier in harness, and by refusing to sign the document Henry left everyone in a dither of apprehension, for those who were fortunate enough to be included were no better off than those who were left out. There is no proof whatever that Lord Lisle and the Earl of Hertford were named because they were Protestants, or that Bishop Gardiner was excluded because he was a pseudo Catholic. Both Hertford and Lisle were noblemen who carefully obscured their personal religious beliefs, always living by the creed that it was safest to do only what was "agreeable to the King's Majesty's pleasure." They were men "noted neither on the one side nor on the other."¹³ Conversely, nowhere is there conclusive evidence that Gardiner was removed at the last moment because Henry opposed his religious views. Instead, the King was furious with the man himself and boasted that he alone could rule the "wilful and heady" bishop "to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me."¹⁴ Whatever the final verdict on Henry's reasons for concocting a council and organ of government almost guaranteed to collapse the moment it was put into effect, the membership of that body cannot be offered as a valid argument that the King had consciously decided to throw his weight upon the side of the Reformed faith, or that he anticipated and planned a Protestant triumph in the years to come. All that we can safely say is that the composition of the council was the result of the accident of Henry's death, which came just when he was favorably inclined toward Lord Lisle and the Seymour brothers, and highly irritated with Gardiner. What the situation would have been six months later is anybody's guess; even the Duke of Norfolk might have been back in the sovereign's good graces, for the story that only Henry's death saved the Duke from execution is based on hearsay evidence, and there were at least three other rumors current that if it had

¹³ *State Papers during the Reign of Henry VIII* (11 vols., London, 1830-52), I, 842; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 790; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, VI, 48.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 691-92.

not been for the sovereign's unexpected demise, Thomas Howard would have been pardoned.¹⁵

The fall of the Howards, like the composition of the regency council, was largely accidental. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was a talented but boisterous and conceited young gentleman whose furious tongue, barbed wit, and family megalomania won him the hatred of important, if lesser born, men close to the sovereign's bedchamber. Surrey was the eldest son of the ranking peer of the realm and the grandson of the Duke of Buckingham, a direct descendant of that source of all genealogical difficulties, Edward III. His lineage made him the natural rival of Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the uncle of the young Prince, and the only other man in the kingdom capable of grasping power after Henry's death. The fact, however, that Seymour seemed somewhat favorably inclined toward the Reformed faith, and supported the Protestant cause once he became Lord Protector, does not make Henry Howard a Catholic, or mean that his destruction was engineered for religious reasons. The evidence is scanty, but it seems to indicate that the Earl of Surrey may in fact have been a Protestant himself. Certainly he was caught eating flesh on fish days, was a friend of George Blagge, a confirmed Sacramentarian who almost got himself burned for his opinions, and Surrey's brother, Lord William Howard, was hauled before the Privy Council for his heretical views.¹⁶ Nowhere in the record of the Earl's trial is there mention of any religious defection. Instead, there is talk about high treason, not so much directed against Prince Edward and the future reign as against Henry himself.¹⁷ Doubtless almost everyone at court was laying plans and discussing the day when a child king would sit upon the throne, but Surrey committed the incredible folly of boasting about his Plantagenet blood, proclaiming his heraldic rights to the throne, candidly talking about the day when Henry must die, and deeply alarming important people by his dark hints that certain persons would not fare well once the King was dead. Both the Earl and his father were accused of trying to influence "a large number of those surrounding the King as to bring them to their side, and had planned to depose the King and seize the government of the young prince and of the realm. . . ."¹⁸ This was, even if only partly true, high treason worthy of execution. There is no evidence at all that the Howards were

¹⁵ *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, tr. M. A. S. Hume (London, 1889), 148; William Thomas, *The Pilgrim*, ed. J. A. Froude (London, 1861), 73; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 702.

¹⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. J. R. Dasent (32 vols., London, 1890), I, 400, 408, 411; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XVIII (1), 266, 315, 327, 347.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXI (2), 555 (1-18).

¹⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth *et al.* (13 vols., London, 1862-1954), VIII, 536.

destroyed, as Kenneth Pickthorn suggests, either because Henry had decided that no council of regency could include both Hertford and Surrey and had opted for his brother-in-law,¹⁹ or because Norfolk and his son belonged to the conservative religious camp. "The busy head of the father and the pride of the son" were crushed because they were real and immediate threats to a suspicious, ruthless, and fearful old man who was determined to be master in his own kingdom even unto the grave. It is significant, moreover, that Surrey's death and Norfolk's attainder did not materially profit the Seymour faction at court. The Duke's estates were not bestowed upon the opposition, but instead were earmarked for young Edward's forthcoming coronation as Prince of Wales.²⁰ Again, all we can fairly conclude is that the fall of the House of Howard had much to do with the political realities of Henry's own life and little to do with religion or the future reign of Edward VI.

The education of that nine-year-old "Godly Imp" remains at the core of the problem. It is indisputable that young Prince Edward became an unremitting Protestant of a singularly inflexible variety, and that his tutors, Sir John Cheke and Dr. Richard Cox, were two of "Christ's special advocates" and "principal proctors" of the new faith. The crucial question, however, is whether Henry knew this, and consciously and systematically allowed his only legally begotten son to be educated in a creed that certainly half, and possibly two-thirds, of his subjects regarded as most heinous and pernicious heresy. It cannot be argued by way of justification or mitigation that Henry was unaware of the true nature of his son's education. The training of a prince and heir to the throne was far too weighty a matter to leave to chance or to "fools and buffoons." Moreover, there was literature aplenty by authors close to the King himself warning that "to be masters of princes on earth is to have the office of gods that be in heaven. . . . For certain he that hath the charge of a prince, is the governor of the ship, the standard of an army, . . . because they have among their hands him that afterwards ought to govern all the world."²¹ In July 1544 Henry had personally transformed Prince Edward's nursery into a schoolroom and regal household, under the stewardship of his old crony and squire of the body, Sir William Sidney. The change-over was in part due to the fact that Edward had come of educable

¹⁹ Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VIII* (Cambridge, Eng., 1934), 539-40.

²⁰ *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, II, 15-17; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 759.

²¹ Quoted in Franklin Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New Haven, Conn., 1940), 206, from John Bouchier (Lord Berners), *Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1535), 137-38.

age, and in part was an effort to prevent malicious and perverse minds from seeking to influence the heir to the throne against his father. Henry carefully ordered "that no manner of person . . . shall have any more servants allowed within the prince's house than to him shall be limited and appointed by a check-roll by the King Majesty's hand to be signed."²² Later, when Edward had become King, the same kind of precautions were maintained by his uncle, the Lord Protector, who decreed that anyone laying "before the King either a letter or anything else brought from foreign parts" must first have it scrutinized by members of the council.²³ Unfortunately, the uncle overlooked a danger that the father had been careful to examine: the threat of pernicious influence close to the throne. One of the main charges brought against Thomas Seymour was that he had sought to corrupt "with gifts and fair promises divers of the Privy Chamber" so as to turn the young King against the Lord Protector.²⁴

It is clear that Henry was fully aware of the need for screening the members of his son's household; it is equally manifest that the Prince's tutors could never have indoctrinated their pupil behind the King's back. Both Cheke and Cox were well known to the King personally, and they could rarely have had a chance of influencing their young ward without being spied upon by other members of the household. Edward was never alone; he was watched and cosseted from morning till night. His every movement was noted; his every word remarked upon. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that, when Edward became King, he took to writing in Greek ciphers "to the end that those that waited upon him should not read nor know what he had written," and he was reduced to sending and receiving notes by the rather melodramatic, if juvenile, method of hiding the documents under the cushion of his chair.²⁵ It is fairly certain that every phrase that the Prince spoke or wrote was reported to the King. Cox and Cheke, no matter what their personal beliefs, would never have risked their royal bratling spouting heresy to his father. Queen Catherine Parr herself had learned the dangers of idle talk and even the slightest theological deviation from the tenets of her royal spouse. If queens were not safe, neither were royal tutors, and both men must have been sure that Henry kept a close eye on whatever they inculcated in a prince for whom the King had risked

²² J. G. Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward VI* (2 vols., Roxburghe Club, London, 1857), I, xxvi-xxviii; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer et al., XIX (1), 864.

²³ *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, ed. Hastings Robinson (2 vols., Parker Society, Cambridge, Eng., 1846-47), I, 88.

²⁴ Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ed. Edward Nares (4 vols., London, 1839), Pt. 2, Bk. I, Record XXXI, 284.

²⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 701.

so much and for whom his subjects had “hungered for so long.” In the face of the divinity that hedged God’s lieutenant on earth, most men were either confirmed and convinced Erastians or, like Bishop Hugh Latimer, so fearful that they preferred to “creep into a mousehole.”

Fear doubtless played a part in the obedience demanded by a sovereign who, as God’s image unto men, claimed a special place in the hearts of his subjects. But the fact remains that conscience, even tender Protestant consciences, could be salved by the doctrine that kings were God’s anointed by virtue “of their power which is ordained, of the sword which is authorized, of their persons which are elected by God, and are endued with the gifts of His Spirit for the better ruling and guiding of this people.”²⁶ When heaven spoke through the person of Henry VIII and assured every disobedient heart a warm welcome in hell, it is not surprising, though it might later prove to be embarrassing, that most men kept their religious sentiments to themselves. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, for example, was careful to conclude a theological discussion with Henry by saying: “This is mine opinion . . . which I . . . do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your majesty.”²⁷ Years later Gardiner questioned Cranmer about his pliant orthodoxy during his master’s final years. “After your Grace,” he said, “hath four years continually lived in agreement of that doctrine [*The King’s Book*] under our late sovereign lord, now so suddenly after his death to write me that his Highness was seduced, it is, I assure you, a very strange speech.” Then the wily bishop asked, if Cranmer really felt that Henry was in error, why had “ye told him not so in his life,” for to leave him in error was surely to endanger “his soul and the souls of others,” and “if your Grace will say you durst not say the truth . . . in a case of religion, that were a marvellous allegation to the condemnation” of the late monarch.²⁸

From what we know about Cheke and Cox²⁹ it is clear that they were

²⁶ Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, ed. J. E. Cox (Parker Society, Cambridge, Eng., 1846), 126.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

²⁸ *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. J. A. Muller (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 300–301.

²⁹ Bindoff refers to three tutors who were of the Reformed faith, and it is possible to include Anthony Cooke in the list of Edward’s early schoolmasters. It is not clear, however, whether Cooke was appointed before or after Henry’s death, and the evidence seems to indicate that he was made a tutor by the Lord Protector. Cooke belonged to the radical party; he was deeply involved in the Northumberland plot, but eventually escaped to Strasbourg in May 1554. If he was appointed along with Cox and Cheke before 1547, his qualifications were scholarly, like the other two men, not theological. Cooke lived a quiet and retired life and seems to have spent most of his time educating a very large family. He was said to have been a deeply learned gentleman, “His Latine, fluent and proper; his Greek, critical and exact; his Philology, and Observations upon each of these Languages, deep, curious, various and pertinent; His Logick, rational; his History and Experience, general; his Rhetorick and Poetry, copious and genuine; his Mathematicks, practicable and useful.” In fact, it was said that “Contemplation was his Soul, Privacy his Life, and Discourse his element,” while “Business was his Purgatory, and

devout and obedient Erastians, selected by the King for their learning and loyalty to the crown. The fact that they became reformers under Edward VI and exiles under his sister, or that Cheke is said to have died of shame for having been forced to recant publicly his beliefs under Catholic Mary and that Cox evolved into a singularly difficult and peppery bishop of Ely under Elizabeth, does not prove that either man ever dreamed of whispering heresy to the young Prince. If they were introducing Reformed ideas into the schoolroom, then it must have been done with the sanction of the King himself. It is, however, highly unlikely that they were doing anything of the kind, for neither man was a "known reformer" at the time of his appointment in 1544. What they taught their pupil was in all probability straight from *The King's Book*, a formulary that Henry had described as "the perfect and sufficient doctrine" for the attainment of salvation.³⁰

John Cheke was a savant and a humanist; his entire life was concerned with learning. His friends were scholars; his approach to life was scholarly; and his position as a royal tutor was directly based on his scholarship. He deeply applauded Dr. William Butts for his profound faith in Christ as the only redeemer of men, and he equally deplored that his good friend and old tutor, George Day, bishop of Chichester, should have been blinded by his devotion to the ancient faith, but Cheke was a professor of Greek, not a religious crusader, and he placed learning and friendship above doctrine. He never condemned Bishop Day for his faults; instead he sought to mitigate the consequences of that obstinacy by pleading for his liberty and finding him an adequate living when Day had been deprived of his see and imprisoned under Edward VI.³¹ Cheke's learning and religion belonged to the tradition of Erasmus, and he confessed that he could "be merry on the banks' side without endangering himself on the sea."³² There is no doubt that he was a reformer—both of religion and of Greek pronunciation—but far more important is the fact that Cheke was probably the most distinguished classical scholar of his generation in England. In the royal schoolroom he

Publickness his torment." In other words, Cooke, like Cheke, was the perfect schoolmaster. (See C. H. and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* [2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1858-61], I, 351-54.) One final point: Cooke came from a good family in Essex, and on May 15, 1546, Edmund Bonner, Richard Riche, and Cooke reported as commissioners in Essex for the Six Articles, investigating offenders against the sacrament of the altar. (See *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI [1], 836.) If the commissioner was the same man who became Edward's tutor, he was certainly not a "known reformer" before 1547.

³⁰ Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (3 vols., London, 1950-54), II, 57.

³¹ John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke* (London, 1705), 35-37; *The Dictionary of National Biography . . . From the Earliest Times to 1900* [hereafter cited as DNB], ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (63 vols., London, 1885-1900), X, 178-83; Nichols, *Literary Remains*, clix-clx.

³² *Ibid.*, 50, n. a.

sought not to fashion a Protestant Josiah but to educate a prince who would be "an academic, slow to judge, glad to hear all men, mistrusting his own reason, taking trouble to be hidden, and so not to be found at the first sight; thinking wisdom either to be in men of experience or else in no men. . . ."³³ Cheke may well have been tainted with a touch of heresy as were so many humanists of his day, but that he ever consciously insinuated those ideas into the mind of Prince Edward without his father's knowledge is out of the question. Men who make a virtue of mistrusting their own reason, who knuckle under and recant their faith in the face of slow fire, and who prefer the merry bankside to the high seas are not made of the stuff of martyrs. Like Cranmer, Cheke must have kept his mouth shut, and he was appointed by the King not because he was a "known reformer" but because he was a fine scholar in the tradition of John Colet and Erasmus.

The same principle applies to Dr. Richard Cox.³⁴ Far from being a religious radical during Henry's final years, the King's chaplain and former master of Eton was regarded as a moderate man in religion. In the public debate between Bishop Gardiner and Robert Barnes in March 1540 he was appointed as one of two "indifferent hearers," and along with Bishops Thomas Thirlby, George Day, and Nicholas Heath (all of whom lost their sees for their religious conservatism under Edward or Elizabeth) he helped to write the most orthodox and cautious of Henry's religious statements, and the one in which the King took the most direct personal interest: *The King's Book*.³⁵ He was, moreover, a leading and aggressive theologian in the condemnation and recantation of Dr. Crome, who had spoken against the sacrificial Mass, and during the interrogation of the Sacramentarian Anne Askew, he and Dr. Robinson penned "a bill of the sacrament," which Anne disdainfully refused to sign.³⁶ If Cox was a reformer when he was made almoner to the Prince in 1544, he certainly kept his heresy to himself. The fact that he later became a quarrelsome Protestant ecclesiastic merely high-lights the point that much Henrician humanism was tainted with heresy and that the creed of Erastianism was safer and often more powerful than the gospel according to Martin Luther.

³³ *Ibid.*, ccxli.

³⁴ There has been constant confusion over Cox since the name is a common one and the records abound with Coxes. A Dr. Cox was Cranmer's diocesan chancellor, and it is clear that he was a conservative and cautious gentleman. The chancellor's name, however, was John, not Richard, a distinction that is lost by James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (4 vols., London, 1908), II, 394-95, and by Ridley, *Cranmer*, 241-42. See also *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 775, fol. 114.

³⁵ J. A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London, 1926), 86-87; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XVIII (2), 68, 34; *DNB*, XII, 412-14.

³⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, I, 414; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 790; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 545.

We know more about Prince Edward's education than that of any other Tudor sovereign, and nowhere is there any proof that before January 1547 he was being brought up in the Reformed faith. Instead, the evidence seems to indicate quite the contrary. In a letter to William Paget describing Edward's education, Cox had much to say about *Aesop's Fables*, Cato's advice to his son, and the declension and conjugation of Latin nouns and verbs, but on the subject of religion the almoner limited himself to the significant remark:

Every day in the mass time he readeth a portion of Solomon's proverbs for the exercise of his reading, wherein he delighteth much and learneth there how good it is to give ear unto discipline, to fear God, to keep God's commandments, to beware of strange and wanton women, to be obedient to father and mother, to be thankful to them that telleth him of his faults, etc.³⁷

Edward had just reached his eighth birthday by December 1544, and it would appear that not only was Mass being heard in his household but also that the royal pupil was being drilled in obedience and a sense of duty to a deity who was neither particularly Catholic nor particularly Protestant. It is clear from the Prince's letters and the remarks of his tutors that Edward's God was an ever-present, omnipotent, and tireless judge, who could ward off the "wiles and enchantments of the evil one," but who could also detect the least sign of sin and punished kings and princes far more heavily than men of base estate;³⁸ in other words, God was the image of his Tudor father, the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

Even after Henry's death in January 1547 at least the trappings of Catholic orthodoxy were observed within the royal household. The Privy Chamber accounts of 1547 show that Edward was still making the usual offerings on Easter Sunday when he attended four traditional services: two High Masses, a celebration of the Resurrection, and a ceremony referred to as "taking his right."³⁹ Throughout 1547-1548 the ancient feast days continued to be celebrated—St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Philip's, St. James's, the Assumption of Our Lady, St. Bartholomew's, the Nativity of Our Lady, St. Michael's, St. Luke's, St. Jude's, and St. Andrew's.⁴⁰ Only slowly did the

³⁷ *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XIX (2), 726.

³⁸ *Letters of the Kings of England*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (2 vols., London, 1846-48), II, 8-9; Nichols, *Literary Remains*, clix-clx.

³⁹ Public Record Office [hereafter cited as PRO], Exchequer, Various Accounts, E.101/426/5, 11. The exact statement is:

Easter day at Grenewiche
Item for the King's offering at Resurrection in the morning . . . 6s, 8d.
Item for the King's offering this Sunday at high mass . . . 6s, 8d.
Item for the King's offering at taking his right . . . 6s, 8d.
Item for the King's offering at high mass . . . 13s, 4d.
Item for the King's daily alms this week . . . 37s, 11d.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 11-50.

atmosphere in the household begin to change and the old observances die out. The evidence would seem to confirm the statement made by Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria and granddaughter of Sir William Sidney, that when the old King died "mischievous and heretical governors, contrary to his father's will" took advantage of "his tender age" and transformed Edward into a thoroughgoing Protestant.⁴¹ As Cox was at pains to point out, Edward was "a vessel apt to receive all goodness and learning, witty, sharp, and pleasant,"⁴² and it was easy enough to fashion such a godly imp into whatever mold his tutors, now free to follow their own consciences, desired.

Edward at his coronation had been well trained, and "Captain Will," that "ungracious fellow," had been conquered by men determined to adorn and furnish their pupil "with all the accomplishments which are fitting a prince."⁴³ From the start the little boy was made to realize his duty to his father, to his God, and to his kingdom. Every facet of his education was carefully designed to help him do his duty and face the weighty responsibilities of kingship. The Prince, said Sir Thomas Elyot, should be an expert in music so as to appreciate better the harmony and balance of the commonwealth, should read the lives of the ancient despots so as to avoid their tyrannies, should study the plastic arts so as to design machines of war and map out the terrain of enemies, and should be versed in moral philosophy so as to recognize "virtuous manners."⁴⁴ From all sides Edward heard but a single pedagogical principle: "Learn, Oh boy, what is likely to be of use to you when a man."⁴⁵ The results were tragic; the little princeling, who thanked his godfather for a sandbox and played with ball and hoop, was transformed into a caricature of a man, who at the age of nine wrote his father a syllogistic exercise to congratulate him on the advent of peace between England and France in June 1546.

For, as war brings on noise and tumult, so does peace usher in tranquillity. Noise and riot is an evil; therefore war is an evil. Rest is a blessing; therefore peace is a blessing. Perhaps too, what Periander the Corinthian says, may serve to this my argument—"Rest is a good thing, or a blessing." I wish to you the best things; therefore I wish to you peace.⁴⁶

Edward had been taught to do his best, but always there was the hint that somehow his best was insufficient. In a frenzy of anxiety, he wrote his

⁴¹ Nichols, *Literary Remains*, xxxix-xl.

⁴² *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XIX (2), 726.

⁴³ *Letters*, ed. Halliwell, II, 15.

⁴⁴ Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft (2 vols., London, 1880), I, Chaps. vii, viii, xiv.

⁴⁵ *Letters*, ed. Halliwell, II, 22-23.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

stepmother to ask whether the admiral of France, who was arriving to conclude the peace treaty, was well schooled in Latin. If the Frenchman turned out to be a classical scholar, Edward wanted to learn his lines better before meeting him.⁴⁷ The shyness of the boy is manifest, but his sense of duty is overpowering, for, as he wrote his father, he was but "a little manikin" who was "worthy to be tortured with stripes of ignominy, if through negligence I should omit even the smallest particle of my duty."⁴⁸ Idleness he shunned "like a plague"; he thanked his teachers "for telling me my faults"; and he prayed aloud to God that "I may be able in part to satisfy the good expectation of the King's Majesty, my father. . . ."⁴⁹

There is no doubt that Henry watched his son's development closely and that he was indirectly responsible for the starched and sterile mind of the precocious youth, who thought in terms of syllogistic logic, feared the evil eye, and always did his duty to God and King. But this is not necessarily the characteristic of a Protestant. Again we must conclude that there is no evidence that Edward was raised in the Reformed faith or that his education shows any secret sympathy toward heresy on the part of his father. Instead, there is much to suggest that the son was reared upon the solid premise: "Equal your renowned father in greatness; no man can wish for more," the legend penned across the famous Holbein portrait of the infant Edward.

So far we have succeeded only in showing that circumstantial evidence is no basis on which to judge anything, least of all the inner reaches of a king's heart. The education of Prince Edward, the staffing of the council of regency, and the destruction of the Earl of Surrey prove little; they do not demonstrate any basic change in Henry's religious outlook; nor do they refute it. It is still possible to argue that Henry was a secret Protestant, and those who believe so can point to the fact that Foxe tried to claim Henry for the Reformed faith and presented impressive evidence to prove his case. Foxe polishes off the old King in the odor of Protestant sanctity.

And this much touching the end of King Henry, who, if he had continued a few months longer (all those obits and masses, which appear in his will made before he went to Boulogne, notwithstanding), most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one mass in all England.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Nichols, *Literary Remains*, Letter XXIII.

⁴⁸ *Letters*, ed. Halliwell, II, 1-4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-11, 13-14; Nichols, *Literary Remains*, Letter XIV; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 282.

⁵⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 692.

As evidence Foxe first asserts that during the summer, fall, and winter of 1546 the King was quietly negotiating with the German Protestants through the industrious and perambulating Dr. Hans Bruno, and then he gives Archbishop Cranmer's version of Henry's remarkable challenge to the French admiral, Claude d'Annebault, when he arrived at Hampton Court in August 1546 to sign the peace treaty. Cranmer admitted he could scarcely believe his ears when the King turned to the Frenchman, who was a militant papist and no friend of schismatic England,⁵¹ and calmly suggested that the Mass in both kingdoms be changed into a communion, that the bishop of Rome be cast out of the two realms, and that France and England unite to exhort the Emperor to do the same, or else "break off from him."⁵²

Before considering the facts of each episode, it is important to note that Foxe, quite irrespective of the evidence he marshals, would have claimed Henry for Christ's church and would have argued that only the interference of God Himself left the glories of the Reformation to a young Prince "meeter to dwell with angels in heavenly glory than to reign on wicked earth over so perverse a generation."⁵³ Good manners required that history judge honorably of rulers and, as Raphael Holinshed said, "speak nothing but good of the Princes of the people."⁵⁴ Consequently, both the Protestant Foxe and the Catholic Nicholas Sanders appealed to the future:⁵⁵ had Henry lived only a few months longer, God would have wrought miracles and led Henry into either the bosom of Christ or the arms of Rome. Foxe had cause to claim Henry for his side, but it is well to keep in mind that it was politic to place Elizabeth's father on the side of the angels.

Archbishop Cranmer was doubtless astounded by Henry's comments to the French admiral, but this is no reason for assuming, as some historians have done, that the words were never spoken. In point of fact, all the evidence indicates that they were said, probably as Cranmer reported them. The crux of the problem is why they were said at all, and why Henry should have given Bruno to understand that he was contemplating a further and revolutionary step in the Reformation. The answers have little to do with the cure of souls or the state of Henry's conscience, and much to do with the diplomatic and military welfare of the realm. Of all subjects none is as

⁵¹ *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XX (2), 856, XXI (1), 953, XXI (2), 406.

⁵² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 563-64.

⁵³ Roger Edwards, "Castræ Regia" (1568), in *Historical Papers*, ed. Philip Bliss and Bulkeley Bandinel (Roxburghe Club, London, 1846), 18.

⁵⁴ Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (6 vols., London, 1807-1808), III, 675.

⁵⁵ Nicolas Sanders, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, tr. David Lewis (London, 1877), 170.

elusive and frustrating as the question of mid-sixteenth-century diplomacy; for those three elderly and crotchety white knights—Charles V, Henry VIII, and Francis I—were masters at stirring up great clouds of verbal dust to conceal their ultimate purpose, which as often as not was the result of divided council, chivalric instinct, and personal impulse. Out of the diplomatic quagmire of Henry's last years, however, three distinct considerations are observable: growing fear of militant and revitalized Catholicism; cautious preparations for an international revolution in which the kaleidoscope of alliances would again be reshuffled, this time with England and France lined up against the Emperor; and preparations for a massive attack on Scotland in the spring of 1547.

As late as 1546, to most observers, it seemed impossible that Protestantism could actually survive, let alone triumph over the military and moral might of Catholicism. The habits of thought of a thousand years were far too ingrained to accept either the notion of religious heterodoxy as anything except a ridiculous proposition, or to consider seriously that heresy could endure. It seemed transparently clear that the success of Luther was not sustained by inward strength, but was merely an accident: the Emperor Charles and the legions of Rome had never been able to concentrate against such spiritual poison because of the Turkish menace in the East and the French threat in the West. If Catholic Christendom could ever close its ranks, and the Most Christian King of France and His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain, who also bore the even weightier dignity of Holy Roman Emperor, would march shoulder to shoulder in league with God's Vicar in Rome, then heresy would surely be extirpated and schismatic England led back into the universal Catholic fold. Not since Luther first nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door had the moment seemed better calculated for the final and inevitable triumph of a faith that had already lasted fifteen hundred years and would endure until the end of time. Europe was at peace with the hateful infidel; Luther had gone to his ultimate reckoning with Satan; resurgent Catholicism, meeting at Trent in January 1546, had finished with formalities and was now settling down to the task of purging itself of sloth, indecision, and abuse; God's chosen instruments against the wicked, the Emperor Charles and the King of France, were for once in accord; and there was even talk that Milan, that bone of Habsburg-Valois contention for over two generations, would be presented to France by the Emperor as a symbol of the new Catholic unity.

For the armchair historical analyst, secure in the secular atmosphere of the twentieth century and strong in his knowledge that the hopes of Cath-

olics were mere fantasies and the fears of Protestants a needless chimera, it is deceptively easy to forget that Henry VIII might regard resurgent papal Catholicism as a far greater threat to his religious *via media* than a weak and faltering Protestantism.⁵⁶ The King had excellent cause for alarm. Reports were current that Charles might declare for the daughter of Catherine of Aragon once Henry was dead, and everyone knew that the French were hopeful of, and if necessary planning to foster, civil war in England as a way of winning back Boulogne and depriving the English of Calais.⁵⁷ Highly embroidered rumors were flooding in from the Lowlands that the Emperor was planning to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into Antwerp, and as further confirmation of the new militant spirit, Henry learned in the early summer of 1546 that Charles had entered into an alliance with the Pope to crush the German Protestants and all who supported them.⁵⁸ Final proof that Catholicism was on the march came in late June when the Emperor declared war against the Schmalkaldic League and began to mobilize Spanish and Italian troops in the pay of Rome, who gleefully killed, looted, tortured, and burned "for no other cause than to exterminate religion," and who carried with them letters of "indulgence for all acts provided that they fall in this war against the heretics."⁵⁹

At home in England the lunatic fringe of the Reformed faith continued to defy the Supreme Head of the Church, but their activities seemed minor in contrast to the presumptuousness of Mr. John Feckenham, the bishop of London's own chaplain, who harangued the London populace in an inflammatory sermon directed against the youth of England who were being led "from pride to lechery, from lechery to theft and from theft to heresy." Only by returning, he proclaimed, to the old virtues and ancient ceremonies "used afore XVI and XVII years ago," could salvation be found. He went on to brand the Germans as foul heretics and described the Duke of Saxony as the worst of a vile lot. Since Henry was at the moment contemplating an alliance with the Duke, it is not surprising that the government was deeply alarmed by such "odious" words.⁶⁰

On the Continent the situation was equally disturbing. No matter how

⁵⁶ Some of the reformers were far from convinced that the succession of that "Godly Imp," Edward VI, would introduce a generation of true believers. Cranmer's secretary asked: "What think your worshipps they [the Catholics] would attempt, if his Majesty were at God's mercy . . . ?" (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, VIII, 34.)

⁵⁷ *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, IX, 492-95; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 406.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* (1), 1343.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* (2), 377, 378, 441.

⁶⁰ PRO State Papers, Henry VIII, General Ser. [hereafter cited as SP1], CCXXVIII, 55, in *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 710.

much the Emperor pleaded the principles of *Realpolitik* and assured his brother of England that he sought only to defend his imperial rights on the grounds that "if subjects should, upon their mis-conductment, overthrow their rulers, they would have neither *Ecclesiam* nor *Principem*,"⁶¹ Henry had the gravest doubts as to exactly what Charles planned either for his empire or for England. The King had considerable cause to suspect that the Emperor, in league with the Pope, was launching a religious crusade which not even the "broad ditch" of the English Channel would be able to hold in check.⁶² In point of fact Charles had written his son Philip the previous February making it clear that his object was to bring the German Protestants "back to the true faith" and to make "them abandon their opinions," a purpose "signally for the service of Our Lord, the increase of His Holy Catholic faith, and the quietude and repose of Christendom, to which we are so especially bound by the dignity to which God has elevated us."⁶³ By the winter of 1546-1547 the Emperor had "wondrously prospered"; the Schmalkaldic League seemed to be on the verge of dissolution; the Elector of Saxony had been deprived of his estates and titles; the Protestant Landgrave of Hesse was in desperate straits; and the cities of upper Germany were surrendering in droves.⁶⁴ Both Henry and Francis were beginning to wonder whether, if Charles were left alone, he "would seek to command all Germany and if he gained that point would try to command elsewhere."⁶⁵ Never had the Emperor seemed more powerful or closer to ultimate success, and cautiously Henry began to listen to those advisers who urged him to initiate a diplomatic revolution. The time had come, they said, for France, England, and the German Protestants to join together in an offensive and defensive alliance against the Emperor and his papal chaplain. Such a league would not only check the advance of Catholicism, but, more important, might also embroil France in war in Germany, weaken the historic alliance between France and Scotland, and leave that barbaric land isolated and at the mercy of its Sassenach neighbor.

Sixteenth-century diplomacy was almost entirely devoid of any sustained or recognizable rhythm. All too often the eloquence of the courtly minuet deteriorated into a noisy rock 'n' roll in which every state seemed to be afflicted with a kind of international St. Vitus's dance. The only constant of foreign policy was the knowledge that no treaty was sacrosanct, no ally

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 34; *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, VIII, 411.

⁶² *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 439, 1285, XXI (2), 262, 315, 546, 558; *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, VIII, 464, 467, 485, 488.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 304-308.

⁶⁴ *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 438, 471, 612, 616, 624, 625, 717.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* (1), 1207.

could be trusted, and every state had as many diplomatic irons in the fire as there were advisers about the sovereign. In Paris it was reported that Admiral d'Annebault, François Cardinal de Tournon, and Secretary of State Gilbert Baynard were all proimperial and anti-English, while the King's mistress Madame d'Estampes, his sister the Queen of Navarre, the Dauphin, and Nicholas de Longueval were favorably inclined toward England and an alliance with the German Protestants.⁶⁶ Henry, however, could never be quite sure which party really held the French King's ear, and he had to be wary of a trap. The possibility always existed that Francis might be using an Anglo-French-German league against Charles as a cover for troop movements which were in fact directed against Boulogne and Calais, and as late as January 11, 1547, Henry notified his military commanders in France to be on special guard since "the Emperor and French King are both in arms."⁶⁷

Cautious as both kings had to be, the diplomatic tide during the fall of 1546 seemed to be running steadily toward an English-French and Protestant rapprochement, and the growing accord can be plotted in direct relationship with the advance of the imperial troops in Germany. There is no doubt that the French hoped that Charles would involve himself in a stalemate which would allow Francis to pounce upon Calais and Boulogne, but the Emperor's extraordinary successes upset all calculations. By January 1547 Richard Morysin was predicting that the French King would eventually have to "lend his help to the Germans, though not for the love he beareth unto them, yet for that it is his suretie to have one eye to the Emperor's growings. . . . A good policy for princes is not to suffer any prince, their neighbor, too far to over grow his fellows," and Morysin expected that Francis would "not commit this error, either to suffer his mortal enemy to grow too great or not to help those that cannot fall without his great danger."⁶⁸

Francis' dilemma was Henry's hope, for any imperial-French embroilment would safeguard English possessions in France and leave Scotland unprotected. Conversely, any agreement between the two major Catholic powers was his greatest fear. The English constantly feared that the Emperor would buy off Francis with the duchy of Milan, thereby leaving Charles to discipline and chastise his Empire, and France to drive the English into the Channel.⁶⁹ Consequently, Henry's diplomacy throughout 1546 was devious in the extreme. It was vital to keep the friendship of the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1521, XX (2), 836, 856.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XXI (2), 691.

⁶⁸ PRO, SP1, CCXXVIII, fol. 52, *ibid.*, 707.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 725.

Emperor, if only to check the Pope and to discourage Francis from attacking Boulogne and Calais. At the same time Henry was sure that England would not profit from an overwhelming imperial triumph in Germany, lest such a victory turn out to be a prelude to a Catholic crusade against schismatic England. This being the case, encouragement had to be offered the German princes, and if possible France must be persuaded to stop the Emperor, either through indirect aid to the Protestants or open war in Germany. On the other hand, it was perfectly clear that any understanding with France, desirable as it might be, would only endure if Henry returned Boulogne and offered some guarantee that he would not invade Scotland. The best to be hoped for was that Francis might be willing to sacrifice Scotland to get back Boulogne and Calais, and to give himself a free hand in Germany. This apparently was what Henry was banking on: France and the Empire would become embroiled in war, the English would support Francis and the German princes but not to the point of risking war on the Emperor, and England would be free to aim a major blow against the Scots, who had reneged on their treaty obligations and the proposed marriage of Prince Edward to the child Queen of Scotland. That something of this nature was in the air is confirmed by a rumor reported in Italy during July 1546 and recorded by one of Charles V's agents. England, it was said, had offered France Calais and Boulogne in return for French support for the marriage of Prince Edward and Mary Stuart. Such an agreement was considered most unlikely; the French, it was argued, would never risk the union of England and Scotland or give up their Scottish alliance, "for what keeps England weak is that France can raise war on the Scottish border." No matter what happened, the report concluded, the Emperor would be safe from French attack since France was exhausted by war, and the recently signed peace with England was said to be highly insecure since a great number of outstanding disputes still remained.⁷⁰

The Emperor was probably well advised to discount the possibility of an English withdrawal from the Continent in return for a free hand in Scotland, but throughout the summer and fall of 1546 it did begin to look as if Henry were hoping to profit from the mounting international crisis and the growing tension between Charles and Francis. Within this context of vague hopes and partly articulated policy, Henry's famous conversation with Dr. Bruno and his extraordinary words to the French admiral must be placed.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* (1), 1354. Talk of a possible Anglo-Scottish war was reported as early as May 27, 1546. (See *ibid.*, 938.)

In narrating the two episodes Foxe confused religious with diplomatic motives. If there is one thing that historians do know about Henry's mind, it is that he regarded religion, at least in its doctrinal and institutional sense, as an instrument of foreign policy, and that he was quite willing to cut his theological cloak to suit the diplomatic fashions of the moment. Twice within the year he had muted religious change for the sake of foreign affairs, first to the consternation of the conservatives, then to the annoyance of the radicals. In November and December 1545 the German Protestant princes made a concerted effort to mediate peace between England and France for fear that the Emperor would seize the opportunity (as in fact he did in June) to crush their faith and destroy their liberties. Consequently they sent their ambassadors to Calais to act as honest brokers, and Henry ordered Sir William Paget to negotiate with the French through the German mediators. This was the occasion when the Principal Secretary first encountered Hans Bruno of Metz, the best German he had ever known "for service."⁷¹ Bruno was anxious to forward the Reformed faith and offered the argument that the German Protestants and the English King were natural allies since they both agreed about the dangers of the Council of Trent and abhorred the bishop of Rome's authority. Later in December he pointed out to Paget that news was coming from England of the imminent enactment of a statute banning all heretical books, which, he said, if true, would encourage their "common enemy the pope." Sir William wrote back to Henry through Sir William Petre to "know how to answer him."⁷² Nine days later Paget received his answer in a letter from Petre that cannot be pure coincidence, for the King's other Principal Secretary wrote that "the bill of books, albeit it was at the beginning set earnestly forward, is finally dashed in the Commons House, as are divers others, whereat I hear no[t] that his Majesty is much miscontented."⁷³ There is no proof that the bill was dropped as a consequence of some hint from the sovereign, or that Paget's letter had anything to do with the behavior of Henry's loyal Commons, but it is suggestive that the statute reappeared in proclamation form seven months later when Henry could diplomatically afford to be orthodox.

A better-documented example of the subservient role of theology in the affairs of princes is the well-known tale of how, in January 1546, Henry quashed the hopes of the radicals for a further reformation within the Church by explaining that foreign considerations prevented it. Evidently the

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XX (2), 1014.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 985.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1030; Gairdner, *Lollardy*, II, 422-23.

King had himself led Cranmer to believe that he would look favorably upon the abolition of such things as the ringing of bells on Allhallows night, creeping to the cross on Good Friday, and the covering of images during Lent. When, however, the archbishop presented him with an encyclical notice to that purpose, the King announced: "I am now otherwise resolved . . ." for

I have received letters from my lord of Winchester . . . about the conclusion of a league between us, the Emperor and the French King, and he writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done.⁷⁴

Henry's solemn assurance to Dr. Bruno that England would side with the Duke of Saxony against the Emperor in any religious dispute was a reflection of the same secular approach to theology: a diplomatic expression, not a commitment of faith.⁷⁵ The doctor's presence in England during the late spring of 1546 was kept a secret since the war in Germany was just commencing, and the King had as yet little intention of antagonizing his erstwhile friend and ally. Bruno left London for Germany in the company of the Somerset Herald in late June, and two months later (August 30) the Privy Council sent after him the terms on which Henry was willing to join a Protestant alliance.⁷⁶ The proposals must have made the worthy Bruno wonder exactly how serious Henry was in his friendship toward the Protestant cause, for the English made it manifestly clear that the Germans would have to make all the concessions. The statement began with a fulsome paragraph about accepting the services of the Landgrave of Hesse and offering him a pension of twelve thousand florins a year. Then Henry suggested a defensive alliance "against all men and for all causes" provided that: he have the chief place in the organization; the association be called henceforth the League Christian; no one enter it without his consent; England would give aid only when all members contributed; and since Henry expected to donate the most money he should therefore have in all assemblies three voices for two of any other member. On the subject of religion the King was even more circumspect. He thanked the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Saxony, and other members of the Schmalkaldic League for their good opinion of his religious zeal, and he accepted their readiness to

⁷⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 561-63; Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. Cox, 414-15.

⁷⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 692.

⁷⁶ *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 580, 730, 995, 1160, 1371. Mention of an Anglo-German alliance goes back as far as April 1546. (See *ibid.*, 582.)

follow his advice at a conference of their learned men and his to be staged in his presence, but as a further check he also required that the league send him a list of ten or twelve theologians, all "learned and unprejudiced," from whom he would select four or five to debate the doctrinal points wherein they differed.⁷⁷ When these proposals were drawn up in August, the Protestant princes were doing well in their war against the Emperor, and it is not surprising that nothing more was heard of an Anglo-Schmalkaldic union until Protestant military fortunes began to wane. But even in defeat the Germans were reluctant to discuss any further bilateral agreement; instead they insisted that France be included. Bruno and the other German emissaries were in Paris in November and December in the wake of the worsening military situation, and just before Henry died in January they arrived in England, presumably carrying with them Francis' blessings, for the English resident ambassador reported from Paris on December 30 that they had had an interview with the French King and "that the answer was good."⁷⁸

Henry's statement to the French admiral in late August 1546 is even more deeply enmeshed in diplomacy, for it was one of the tentative feelers being made by both sides to test the possibility of a power realignment in Europe. The idea of a reshuffling of allies began almost the moment peace was concluded between England and France, and war commenced in Germany. Bruno, it will be recalled, had been in London during most of June, and by late July François Van der Delft, the imperial ambassador at Henry's court, had picked up rumors that Bruno had not gone directly home, but had stopped off at Paris, taking with him a proposal from Henry that the two kings meet to concert plans against the Emperor.⁷⁹ There was some truth in this rumor since the French ambassador in London reported that Henry had warned him that his royal master should "think in time of possible enterprises" since the Emperor and the Pope had joined forces not simply to punish the German Protestants but to destroy all who aided them.⁸⁰ It was perfectly obvious that Henry was alarmed by the possibility that Charles and Francis would again unite against the heretics. He was far from convinced that the French imperial Treaty of Crespy, signed in September 1544, had lapsed or that the death of the Duke of Orleans had ended the threat of a marriage alliance in which Milan would be ceded to France as part of the dowry settlement. The question the King kept reiterating in his

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1526.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* (2), 602, 619, 638.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* (1), 1371.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1207, 1343.

interviews with Van der Delft was whether there were two French-imperial treaties, "one more secret than the other."⁸¹

Despite the cessation of hostilities on June 4, Anglo-French relations remained extremely unfriendly throughout most of July and August, and there was open talk that the peace would scarcely endure beyond the formal signing of the treaty, scheduled for late August, when D'Annebaut was expected in London. There was constant bickering over frontier violations, the English refused to return captured French galleys and prisoners of war, and both sides poured men and arms into the border defenses. Throughout August and the first days of September the conflict in Germany continued to go against the Emperor, but by the middle of the month the tide began to turn. As the fortunes of war shifted so also did the diplomatic atmosphere in London and Paris, and by September 18 both Henry and Francis were in conciliatory moods.⁸² Throughout September Bruno was again on his travels, plying between Calais and Paris, presumably urging an Anglo-French accord.⁸³ By October there was open talk of a meeting between the two monarchs, for, it was said, "the Bishop of Rome has of late so pricked the French King that he will easily give ear to" a closer union with England.⁸⁴ The French, however, were reluctant to make the first move, and the English ambassador reported that Francis wanted Henry to act first. Secretary Paget wrote back that he regarded the whole proposal as dangerously suspect and dismissed it as a French trick.⁸⁵ Whatever Paget's reservations may have been, during October Anglo-imperial relations grew cooler in direct proportion to the war news coming out of Germany.⁸⁶ On October 7, Van der Delft found Henry in an exacting frame of mind. The King, he said, "inquired very minutely as to" the Emperor's military successes and was adamant about the restitution of Flemish properties in Boulogne, while at the same time complaining about the treatment of English merchants in Spain. Paget went out of his way to impress upon the ambassador how irritated and alarmed Henry was by the Emperor's treaty with the Pope, and Van der Delft, who was neither particularly intelligent nor well informed, reported his great astonishment that Henry was being so difficult.⁸⁷ By December 24, however, even Van der Delft had begun to realize what was happening and admitted that "the better the news that reaches here of the

⁸¹ *Ibid.* (2), 27, 34, 84.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 117, 122.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 245, 262, 315.

⁸⁷ *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, VIII, 484-88.

progress of your Majesty's affairs in Germany, the more difficult do I find the council in my negotiations with them."⁸⁸

As England and the Empire drifted further apart, Henry increased pressure upon Scotland, synchronizing his military build-up with the international situation. The more victorious the Emperor was in Germany, the more accommodating Francis became; the more concern there was in Paris, the better the chances for an Anglo-French accord; the more certain such an understanding, the surer Henry could be that the French would not intervene to save Scotland. By November English policy was obvious; Lord Lisle was recalled to court to lead a naval attack against St. Andrew's Castle in order to rescue the murderers of the Scottish cardinal, David Betoun.⁸⁹ Then in December and January the pace of rearmament increased. Odet de Selve, the French ambassador, reported on five different occasions the extent of the military preparations: artillery, bullets, powder, pikes, halberds, all being shipped daily down the Thames, and growing naval concentrations off the Scottish coast. Finally, just before Henry died, De Selve wrote that the Scottish representative in London, David Paniter, bishop of Roos, had told him that the English had sent sixty thousand pounds to Newcastle and were planning to invade Scotland next April or May with fifty thousand men.⁹⁰ What the ambassador could not, however, ascertain was whether all this warlike activity was actually aimed at Scotland or might be directed against France, for the French, like the English, always had to consider the possibility that Henry was offering them a red herring and that the moment they became embroiled in Germany, the English would attack across the Channel.

Unfortunately for De Selve, the French were in no position to concern themselves with Henry's ulterior motives. The crisis in Europe allowed Francis no choice: he had to gamble that mutual fear of the Emperor would keep Henry honest. Throughout November and December confirmation of Charles's successes began to pour in: the Elector of Saxony's estates were overrun; the Landgrave of Hesse's army melted away; and more and more German towns were surrendering.⁹¹ On November 24, Christopher Mont, who was always something of a Cassandra in his diplomatic dispatches, reported to Henry that "the Emperor will restore the Bishop of Rome throughout Germany and subject the Empire to himself."⁹² As Charles

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 534.

⁸⁹ *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 347.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 408, 444, 568, 651, 675, 679, 702, esp. 743.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 471, 558, 612, 616, 624, 625, 637.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 438.

rolled up his victories, Bruno and his ambassadorial colleagues found far more receptive audiences in Paris and London. Henry fell all over himself to apologize to Francis when the King's officers stopped, searched, and delayed a French royal courier at Dover, and he wrote Nicholas Wotten in Paris that he would warmly receive the German ambassadors when they came to England.⁹³ For his part, Francis recalled his Protestant inclined sister, the Queen of Navarre, and gave a favorable interview to the German ambassadors.⁹⁴ Both sides, however, continued to be extremely cautious—the English wanting the German ambassadors to induce Francis to enter a league with them first, since Henry was afraid that if he tied himself to the German princes the French King might “slip to the Emperor.”⁹⁵

By January even these reservations had receded, for when the key German city of Ulm surrendered on December 23, it was clear to both kings that they were faced with a major international crisis. Henry was gravely alarmed, for no matter how much Charles protested that he sought only to punish rebels, not to abolish the gospel, no one believed him except possibly those staunch imperialists, Gardiner and Thirlby, the bishop of Westminster. Francis was equally concerned and seriously considered the pleas of the German Protestants for aid. Bishop Thirlby, who was traveling with the Emperor, reported to Henry on January 13 that it was now uncertain where Charles would winter his troops, for “if it be true that the French king gathers men, it may draw us to the Rhine.”⁹⁶ On January 17, De Selve had his last interview with Henry and related that “in speaking of means of assuring the two Kings of each other” Henry had “approved of none but a closer amity such as a league defensive.”⁹⁷ Obviously Francis still hoped to persuade Henry to return Boulogne, for De Selve mentioned the matter to Paget; equally apparent, Henry still banked on destroying the French-Scottish alliance, leaving Scotland in helpless isolation. By January 20, Paget was even suggesting a marriage treaty between the Princess Mary and “a son of France.”⁹⁸ Finally, just before Henry died, the Secretary mentioned to De Selve that he should write to Francis about the possibility of a “league offensive.”⁹⁹ Two days later Henry was dead, and the intricate juggling act came crashing to the ground. The idea of a French treaty was dropped immediately; talk of an alliance with the German princes faltered

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 619.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 638.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 619.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 546, 699.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 713.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 725.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 743.

on for another few months; and only the war against Scotland was carried on into the next reign.

In the light of the international scene, we must conclude that Henry's challenge to the French admiral had nothing to do with religion. It was a calculated indiscretion, addressed to a convinced papist who was close to the French King's ear, and aimed partly at testing the admiral and partly at forwarding a complicated foreign policy that never came to fruition because of Henry's sudden death. That his words were indicative of any change of religious heart is most unlikely, for what we forget is the ability of all men, but especially of ruling monarchs, to compartmentalize their minds. Religious conscience and diplomatic necessity were two quite different matters. Francis I bluntly insisted on that division when he was asked by the German Protestant princes to cease his persecution of the French Protestants, and he answered that "he would maintain the religion he received from his ancestors, and his friendship with these [Protestant] States did not affect it."¹⁰⁰ Henry would have wholeheartedly agreed.¹⁰¹

In all honesty, then, the most that can be said about Foxe's evidence is that Henry did in fact shock the French admiral with his propositions and that he also offered a preposterous treaty to the German Protestants. Further than this it is difficult to go except to suggest that most of the events offered as proof that Henry had shifted his theological position should be viewed in a diplomatic-military, not religious, context. The Earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle were doubtless men of the future, but the door of the King's Privy Chamber stood open to them not because they were inclined toward the Reformed faith but because they belonged to the pro-French clique and would captain any campaign against Scotland.¹⁰² The dissolution of the chantry lands had profound religious repercussions, but the statute was justified on the grounds of fiscal necessity: the pressing need to pay the King's debts, defend his realm, and wage war against the Scots. The persistent rumors during the winter of 1546-1547 that episcopal lands and revenues would also be nationalized should be seen from the same perspective—as an act of emergency financing, not as a means of reforming the Church.¹⁰³ Henry might indeed have been willing to fleece the bishops of their estates without ever perceiving the theological implications of transforming an ordained episcopacy into a salaried department of state. In fact

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* (1), 476.

¹⁰¹ Bishop Gardiner was convinced that Henry had no affection for the Protestants even though he "sometimes of necessity, sometimes of policy, hath wisely used them." (*Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. Müller, 162.)

¹⁰² *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 347.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 546.

he had already refused to accept Dr. Crome's premise that the dissolution of the chantries and the abolition of chantry priests in any way weakened the theological argument for the existence of purgatory or the efficacy of prayers for departed souls. Finally, the King's irritation with Gardiner is quite explicable without introducing the question of religion; after all, the bishop of Winchester was belligerently proimperial, the wealthiest ecclesiastic in the kingdom, and an ungrateful subject to boot.

The events and decisions of the last months of Henry's life certainly had lasting religious consequences, but there is no evidence that they were inspired by a belief that the future belonged to Protestantism. Had Henry really modified his religious position, he had plenty of occasions on which to indicate that change, but his last will and testament, which had been completely revised and rewritten only a month before his death, continued to appeal to "the glorious and blessed virgin our lady Saint Mary" and to "all the holy company of Heaven" and required the usual prayers for his soul.¹⁰⁴ During that same week of December 29, moreover, the King was still demanding that Sacramentarians make abject recantations of their faith if they wished to escape the stake.¹⁰⁵

Henry's death interrupted much and terminated a complicated concatenation of diplomatic, religious, military, factional, and personal considerations. When the end arrived, it came with unexpected speed. What schemes lay concealed in the mind of an old and dying monarch were no longer of concern to the living, who were busy concocting their own plans even as their sovereign slipped from torment into coma and oblivion. But one point can be made. The Reformed faith triumphed not because there lay concealed within that massive royal bosom any secret foreknowledge of an England mighty and victorious in its Protestant faith. Nor did it prevail because of any inner necessity or divine will, but because of the accident of Henry dying just at the instant he did. Alter the timing; allow the King no more than another year of life, and the patterns and personalities are inalterably changed, and so too are the causal relationships between Henry's reign and the events to follow.

¹⁰⁴ The original is in PRO, Royal Wills, E. 23, IV, Pt. 1, 1; the printed version, Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson, *Foedera* (20 vols., London, 1704-35), XV, 110.

¹⁰⁵ *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 596, 629.

New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth-Century America

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THE once promising field of immigration studies has fallen upon hard times. Several able scholars who entered it with enthusiasm ten or twenty years ago have recently abandoned it. Yet the obvious importance of immigrants and their children in the urbanization of America in the twentieth century makes an understanding of their history more vital than ever before. The popularity of general works such as Will Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, N. Y., 1960), Samuel Lubell's *Future of American Politics* (New York, 1956), and Nathan Glazer's and Daniel Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963) attests the importance that social workers, religious leaders, urban planners, and politicians attach to the theme. How then are we to explain the flight from a field of scholarship whose pioneer practitioners won an audience as significant as the makers and the readers of such books?

One reason, certainly, is the blight of ethnic parochialism, which has done far more damage to studies of twentieth-century immigrants than of earlier ones. The great migrating groups of the nineteenth century—the Irish, Germans, Swedes, and Jews—arrived early enough and in sufficient numbers to play significant roles in the economic and social development of major urban or agricultural regions. The history of any one group, therefore, seemed worth a lifetime of study by several competent scholars, willing to search out both the European background and the American experience of the group. But a solid book about Rumanians, Lithuanians, or Croatians seems hardly as promising a way for a young historian to launch his career today. Indeed, most of the immigrant peoples of the twentieth century gain significance in American history chiefly from the fact of their settlement alongside other nationalities with whom they shared closely parallel experiences in housing, employment, and social adjustment.

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Studying these diverse groups together, however, magnifies a second, already serious problem: language skills. Few of today's American graduate students are masters of a single Eastern European tongue. An occasional one may set out to learn Polish, perhaps, especially if as a child he heard his grandparents speak it. But if we tell him he needs Czech and Lithuanian as well to understand the northern Slavs, or that a competent study of Ash-tabula, Gary, or Joliet, or of immigrant workers in coal mining or automobile manufacturing may also involve sources in Hungarian, Finnish, Croatian, and Italian, he is understandably dismayed.

An even more serious barrier is the scattered and unorganized condition of source materials. Public librarians, even in such centers as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, and New York, have long since despaired of keeping broad and continuous files of the scores of immigrant periodicals and almanacs or the thousands of books and pamphlets published in their own cities. The multiplicity of languages involved, the lack of staff members competent to handle more than one or two of them, and the difficulty of demonstrating the worth of any single publication were doubtless more important than prejudice against recent immigrants in producing this situation. The most substantial university Slavic collections, at Harvard, Princeton, Indiana, and Berkeley, have, moreover, concentrated upon the history of the Slavs in Europe, not in America. Thus, important files of periodicals and manuscripts have recently been destroyed, and others have been sent piecemeal to Europe. The scholar who works on any of the twentieth-century immigrant groups must spend untold hours simply locating material and negotiating for permission to use it, realizing at the same time that it must remain in private hands, out of the reach of other scholars who might retrace and correct his steps or cut a new path. A broad-scale program to collect and organize in one or more of the major university libraries a wide sample of the publications, organizational records, and personal papers of every immigrant nationality from Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe and from the Near East seems necessary.

Should even these major technical problems be solved, yet another cause of the crisis in immigration history would beset us: the intellectual and emotional involvement of historians in a cluster of value-laden arguments over cultural pluralism and the meaning of Americanization, over the nature of Anglo-Saxon domination and of religion's social role. Several of the premises that underlie much research in the history of recent immigration reflect this involvement. Americanization appears chiefly in these studies as a native Protestant scheme to engineer cultural and social uniformity. Eco-

nomic exploitation of the newcomers seems an inevitable concomitant of the cultural. And the immigrants themselves, uprooted from their homes in the Old World, appear predestined to be strangers in the New. Their history, as thus far written, is a story of alienation and conflict. Organizations and individuals whose function was not unity and defense, but assimilation, seem somehow like the good black Sambos and the Uncle Toms of Negro history—worthy of notice chiefly by way of contrast with those who nurtured and preserved their nationality's contribution to a culturally plural America.

In this paper, therefore, I wish to suggest approaches to immigration history that lay frank stress upon assimilation, both cultural and structural, rather than ethnic exclusiveness. The approaches require comparative and quantitative studies employing the tools and the perceptions of both the older social history and the newer behavioral sciences. The suggestions are my own, but they arise out of an extensive investigation that Clarke Chambers, Hyman Berman, and I have recently concluded of the social history of the Minnesota iron mining towns. Two sets of findings seem to offer important suggestions for future studies of urban immigrants: one group centers upon the integrative factors at work in this particular kind of small-town environment; the other deals with the relationships between local and national structures of social organization.

The Vermilion and Mesabi iron lands were a virgin wilderness until 1884. Those who settled there in the following thirty years came from a wide spectrum of Eastern, Southern, and Western European backgrounds. The nature of mining operations required them to locate in a dozen small towns and some forty-odd tiny villages. Here face-to-face relationships prevailed, as in their homelands. But the structure of law and custom was Anglo-Saxon, midwestern, and thoroughly capitalistic. The population, moreover, was in both language and religion as polyglot as Chicago; and economic life, far more than in great cities, depended heavily upon giant corporations like United States Steel or Pickands-Mather, whose headquarters were in faraway Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York.¹ In this particular kind of small-town environment, cultural islands grounded in sentiments of nationality could not withstand the assimilating effects of shared experience.

The close segregation of residences according to ethnic patterns, for example, simply did not occur. All that happened was that in larger towns

¹ George O. Virtue, *The Minnesota Iron Ranges* (Washington, D. C., 1909), 345-53, provides statistics based upon mining company records that are either no longer in existence or inaccessible to scholars.

workers from Eastern and Southern Europe were spread out at random through the poorer neighborhoods. English-speaking families, many of whom were immigrants from Canada, Scotland, or Cornwall, occupied the best homes available, with Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians scattered in between.² Under these circumstances, marriage across ethnic lines occurred frequently from the beginning; immigrant wives established informal contacts with others of different nationalities more often than in cities; and children found it impossible to identify the mixed culture of the street and the neighborhood school with their parents' Old World traditions.³ The consequence was an astonishingly rapid adjustment of all groups to prevailing American folkways, and a surprising degree of structural assimilation as well, in business partnerships, civic activities, religious worship, and recreation.

Should not studies of immigrants in cities concentrate more upon the life histories of families who settled in multiethnic neighborhoods and passed rapidly into associations and activities geared to interest rather than ethnicity? Given the unbalanced sex ratios, the pursuit of wives outside their own nationality among the men who were first to arrive created many families whose language was necessarily English. Did such families later exercise a mediating role among newcomers of the father's nationality? Scattered evidence from literary sources presently available—family histories, immigrant almanacs and guidebooks, and the obituary columns of the foreign-language press—offers fruitful points to begin such studies. And urban parish records, school surveys, and census reports beckon to the student with an interest in quantification.

A second finding was that in these small towns Roman Catholic congregations functioned socially as ethnic melting pots, while those serving Protestant immigrants often nurtured a specific Old World tradition. Except for the separate Italian parishes founded after 1906 at Hibbing and Eve-

² See, e.g., Minnesota Fourth Decennial Census, 1895, MS schedules for Saint Louis County, 119–22 (for McKinley residents, Minnesota State Archives); lists of petitioners for sidewalk and sewer improvements in Eveleth City Council, "Minute Book" for 1913 and 1914, Eveleth City Clerk's office; and addresses of heads of families of the Russian Orthodox congregation in Chisholm in 1922 in M. H. Godfrey to John H. McLean, Sept. 21, 1922, Oliver Iron Mining Company, Executive Files, Minnesota Historical Society.

³ Saint Louis County, MS marriage record book, for Tower, 1886–1890, courthouse, Duluth, Minn., records 134 marriages, of which 16 seem, from the rough estimate possible from names alone, to have crossed ethnic lines. See also *Narodni Vestnik* [National Herald], Sept. 28, 1911, Immigrant Archives, University of Minnesota Library, recording the marriage of a Slovene girl to a son of Mining Superintendent Charles Trezona; MS marriage records of St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church (Polish-Slovenian), Virginia, for 1909, in the parish office showing 4 of 28 marriages were exogamous, and for 1916, showing 5 of 18; and the same for the Presbyterian church, Virginia, in the church office, for 1926–28, showing only 10 of 42 marriages were endogamous, each of these being between partners both of whom were either Finns or Scandinavians.

leth, the Slovene church at Eveleth, and the one at Virginia called, marvelously, the Polish-Slovenian church, the rule in range towns from Ely to Calumet was one Roman Catholic parish, serving Irish, Germans, Slavs, and Italians. Among Protestant congregations in the village of Virginia alone, by contrast, were a Norwegian, a Swedish, a German, and three Finnish Lutheran groups; two Baptist churches, one Finnish, the other Swedish; a Norwegian and a Swedish Methodist; an English Methodist and an Episcopal congregation, which divided between them not only the native Americans of those faiths but the immigrant mining captains from Cornwall; and a Presbyterian congregation serving both persons born in the United States and Scots and Scotch-Irish who had recently arrived from the British Isles and Protestant Canada.⁴

Many studies of Roman Catholic newcomers in cities have dealt in one way or another with the Americanizing influence of Irish bishops, of course. But few have explored the dynamics of congregational life. How many and exactly what kinds of interethnic congregations existed among Roman Catholics in large cities such as Chicago? When national parishes emerged among Slavs and Italians, whose memories were bound to a particular Old World village, precisely how did these congregations nurture a sense of national identity among their membership? How did ethnic lodges and mutual benefit societies affect the pattern of personal relationships in mixed and national parishes? And what different roles did non-Irish priests play when they served congregations of their own, of another, or of several language groups? How did these differences affect the establishment and operation of parochial schools? To these and other important questions we have almost no answers. Not just some mystic drive toward Catholic unity, but specific measures and circumstances have shaped the emerging community of Roman Catholics in American cities.

As for Protestants, the need for answers to analogous questions seems even greater. Which of the millions so labeled in numerous studies were in fact members of immigrant Protestant congregations: Italian, Swedish, or German Baptist; Norwegian, Finnish, Welsh, or German Methodist; Danish, Finnish, or Lithuanian Lutheran; Hungarian Reformed; or Italian Waldensian? And how, precisely, did their adjustment to the dominant culture differ from that of immigrants of other faiths? To assume the existence of a national community of white Protestants, as Herberg and Gerhard

⁴ Information on ethnic origins of Roman Catholic congregations is most easily available from anniversary histories, an extensive file of which is in the Immigrant Archives. For Protestant churches, range town newspapers may be supplemented by the William Bell Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, and Oliver Iron Mining Company, Executive Files.

Lenski appear to do, may be far less defensible than to stress the steadily increasing identification of Roman Catholics or of Jews with their general religious heritage. Certainly a much closer analysis of what Lenski calls *The Religious Factor* (Garden City, N. Y., 1963), in his comparison of social attitudes among Detroit Catholics, Jews, white Protestants, and Negro Protestants, would be possible from a study of, say, Hungarian Catholics, Hungarian Jews, and Hungarian Protestants who settled simultaneously in that city, or of Slovak Catholic and Reformed congregations in Cleveland, or of Rumanians of the Baptist, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish faiths in Chicago.

The mediating role of immigrant businessmen also stood out sharply in our study of the Minnesota towns. Most fascinating were the Slovene tavern-keepers, many of whom graduated rapidly into general merchandising, hotel ownership, or undertaking. Some were allies of the mining superintendents, provoking the socialists to a brief flirtation with temperance sentiments. Others were neutral on labor issues but a principal support of the parish church. All joined the chorus of popular complaint against Wall Street, while making for themselves a niche in the power structure of Main Street.⁵ Meanwhile, the Lithuanian Jews who sold special or general merchandise to all comers, the German and Scandinavian wholesalers who profited from easy communication with major distributors in Duluth and Minneapolis, and the Danish and Norwegian bankers all served in different ways as agents of assimilation. Of special significance were the young Finnish and Slovene clerks whom most larger banks and mercantile houses employed to serve their countrymen in their native tongue; they were links "between two worlds" long before anyone thought of writing an immigrant play by that title.⁶

The go-getter spirit, the pragmatism, and the penuriousness of these businessmen mirrored every facet of what Max Weber taught us to call the Protestant ethic. We need comparative studies of such men in larger cities, if for nothing else to give Weber's hypothesis a new kind of test. The familiar combination of attitudes he described may turn out to be simply an ethic appropriate to the elite leaders of any uprooted and mobile people.

⁵ See advertisements in *Amerikanski Slovenec* [American Slovene], Sept. 10, 1891, and thereafter, Immigrant Archives; similar advertisements in *Narodni Vestnik*; letter of John Movern, Eveleth, in *Proletarec* [Proletariat], Sept. 20, 1910, Immigrant Archives; and numerous letters in that and succeeding years in *Proletarec* attacking saloonkeepers who were in league with mining officials, *ibid.*

⁶ A statistical study of the careers of fifty businessmen prominent on the range by 1920, who arrived there before 1901, reveals that 58 per cent of the men were foreign born and that 34 per cent were of East European extraction.

Perhaps more important, such studies would also make plain the precise manner in which businessmen led the way in adjustment to new conditions, providing both thrust and guidance for the newcomers' flight through cultural space. The considerable literature that now exists on immigrant bankers, Italian padrones, and Jewish merchants and clothing manufacturers is limited by ethnic perspectives, but it points to the relevant source materials: news and obituary columns in the ethnic press, the records of mutual benefit societies, and business records to be found in family papers. Consider, for example, a career such as that of Anton Nemanich, tavernkeeper at Joliet, Illinois, unofficial employment agent for International Harvester, and pillar of St. Joseph's Church. His enterprises in the "Nemanich block" eventually included a meat market, a mortuary, a florist shop, and a brewery. In 1904 he became national president of a Catholic Slovene benefit society, the organization chiefly responsible for maintaining ethnic feeling among that group. The anticlerical Slovenes called him king, but the Joliet community thought of him more as father, counselor, friend. On many an Easter Sunday the parents of half the children confirmed in St. Joseph's Church would ask Nemanich to serve as godfather. And the old priest himself declared that the congregation could never have become the center of the community in the early years if Nemanich and two other tavernkeepers had not insisted that unmarried newcomers must first go to Mass on Sundays if they wished to eat.⁷

Another important instrument of acculturation in the iron range towns was a broad program of social services, at first private and then increasingly public in their sponsorship. In the early years the welfare programs of the mining companies combined with scattered efforts of national missionary and local church agencies to meet pressing human needs. The medical doctors also played key roles, especially in encouraging the public schools to make health and recreation a major part of their expanding services. By 1920 the mining companies were shifting responsibility for such programs as they had sponsored to the towns and school districts, partly to put ore taxes to better use but also in response to the interest of their local superintendents. Thereafter, politics on the range became a game of balancing and harmonizing widespread local demands for services against such restraints as the companies could exercise directly or through the state legis-

⁷ Interview with Father Matthias Hiti, Holy Ghost Roman Catholic parish, Waukegan, Ill., Mar. 5, 1964; files of *Amerikanski Slovenec* and *Glasilo K.S.K.J.* [Voice of the Grand Carniolian-Slovenian Catholic Union], Immigrant Archives, for the years 1904-21; *Spominski Album, Joliet, Illinois: Slovenskih Trgovcev in Obrtnikov* [Commemorative Album, Joliet, Illinois, Slovene Merchants and Tradesmen], comp. Rafko Zupanec (Joliet, 1915), 5, 6, 13; Joliet *Evening Herald*, May 31, 1910.

lature. The result in these communities was a welfare state that antedated the New Deal by a dozen years. Even the Boy Scout executives were subsidized with public school funds; municipal heat and light were available at bargain rates; and junior high schools had their own swimming pools. Both earlier and later social welfare programs were harmonizing influences that penetrated deeply into the life of immigrant families. At least partly in consequence, the parishes and mutual benefit societies limited greatly the range of services that their counterparts in larger cities provided.⁸

Students of immigration have much to learn, I think, from those at work in the new and expanding field of social welfare history, and perhaps something to teach as well. Here, too, the task of gathering and organizing a wide range of personal and organizational archives has only recently begun. In consulting these sources, however, historians of immigration should pay less attention than formerly to the social problems that these documents lay bare and more attention to the role of welfare agencies in resolving them and in hastening the adjustment of the newcomers to American life. Ethnic-oriented studies have tended to dismiss as unimportant the influence of Yankee do-gooders. But they rely too much on the testimony of idealists recorded in their moments of despair, or of immigrants who, precisely because they resisted such influences, remained prominent in the ethnic enclaves. Is not the story of other newcomers to whom welfare services provided a release from the bonds of nationality equally important and equally accessible to researchers bent on recovering it?

Finally, we have been able in these small towns to study closely the impact of public schooling upon the children of new immigrants. Roman Catholic congregations, struggling for their existence and unable in any case to harness ethnic loyalties to the clerical cart, found parochial schools impracticable, save in the two largest "melting-pot" congregations at Hibbing and Virginia. The public schools succeeded in imposing a common English culture upon children of many nationalities. The devices by which they attempted to prevent a conflict between generations were remarkably well planned. And they kindled an enthusiasm for high school and college education in the hearts of their students that has marked the history of the range

⁸ See C. W. More, "Reminiscences of a Range Physician," *Minnesota Medicine* (Jan. 1936), 36-42; W. H. Moulton, "The Sociological Side of the Mining Industry," *Proceedings, Lake Superior Mining Institute, 1909* (Duluth, Minn., 1909), 82-98; Victor Power, mayor of Hibbing, open letter to J. A. O. Preus, state auditor, Sept. 1, 1915, Power's scrapbooks, in possession of Charles Bardessona, Hibbing; Oliver Iron Mining Company, Executive Files; see also *Daily Virginian*, Dec. 5-10, 1921, containing a running account of Oliver's public stand on welfare; and Hibbing School Superintendent, "Report," Superintendent's Office, Hibbing Schools, Feb. 1919, Sept. 1921.

towns ever since. By 1910 school enrollment in each of them except Chisholm exceeded the averages for both the state as a whole and for all towns of comparable size in the state. At Ely 97.5 per cent of the youngsters were enrolled, a record impossible without universal parental enthusiasm. And in the next decade Chisholm mastered relatively larger hindrances to become a showcase for public education for the entire upper Midwest.⁹ The only comparable story now known is that of the immensely successful marriage of New York City's Jewish population to the public schools.

Have historians of immigration working in urban settings paid enough attention to the later careers of the thousands of Catholic and Orthodox children who attended public rather than parochial schools, often from choice as well as necessity? Have we given sufficient emphasis to the broad support of public education generally, and particularly of compulsory attendance laws, which came from Czech, Polish, Greek, and Italian leaders anxious to relieve their nationalities of the stigma and the handicap of ignorance? Federal census reports for 1910 indicate that in every region the percentage of children of foreign or mixed parentage enrolled in school closely approximated that for children of native-born Americans, despite the obvious social handicaps of the former group. In adult literacy statistics, moreover, the offspring of immigrants uniformly outranked the others, even in the populous Middle Atlantic and north central states, where newcomers were many and traditions of public education in the older population strong.¹⁰

More careful study of the zeal for schooling that these statistics suggest, and of the role of immigrant families and organizations in cultivating it, might help rid us of the notion that Americanization was an exclusively Anglo-Saxon project. And it might also reveal the bias in the widespread belief that a drive for education was the special trait of one or another ethnic group. Those who made the decision to migrate to the New World were not usually from families of superior learning or social standing, whatever their nationality. The process of self-selection turned rather upon ambition, upon a wish and a will to believe that the future was more real than the past, and upon a readiness to accept changes and make adjust-

⁹ J. P. Vaughan, "Superintendent's Report, 1913-1914," Chisholm Schools, Superintendent's Office, and mimeographed sets of "Language Plans" for the elementary grades are the most revealing of a mass of such materials examined for this study; numerous student literary publications are also exceedingly useful. See also, in the same location, L. H. Weir, "Plans and Suggestions upon the Organization and Conduct of a System of Employment of the Free Time of the People of Chisholm, Minnesota" (multigraphed, Chisholm, 1915); Chisholm school district, "Graduates Lists" for 1926, giving occupations of one hundred outstanding high school graduates, 1908-25; and United States, *Thirteenth Census (1910), Abstract . . . , with Supplement for Minnesota* (Washington, D. C., 1913), 624-28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 227-28, 245.

ments. Long before the ship on which he traveled touched the docks, many an immigrant had inquired carefully of those he met what the conditions were that he must face, the lessons he must learn to make his venture a success. Once ashore, he was staggered by the number and complexity of the things he did not know. He had to learn quickly in order to get ahead. To find countrymen who spoke his own language and would help him initially was great good fortune. For such a man, the "ethnic community" was not a room but a corridor. His ultimate objective was the fulfillment of a dream of success that owed nothing at all to Horatio Alger. If it was too late for him to make more than a start, it was not too late for his children. And for them, he knew, schooling was the key that unlocked the corridor door.

The other major category of our findings deals with the varying relationships of regional and national structures of social organization to local face-to-face groups. These also suggest that assimilation is a more useful perspective than alienation from which to approach the history of twentieth-century immigration.

Entrepreneurial historians, for example, have as yet paid insufficient attention to the subtle divergences of interest and policy between the local and the central offices of national business combinations. These divergences became especially significant in the Mesabi country, where the lords of industrial empires whose headquarters were far away directed when to open and close mines, what wages to pay, and what sorts of employees to favor. Many of the range captains, however, were themselves immigrants. Though sometimes well educated, they were usually practical men who disdained the armchair engineers of Cleveland and Pittsburgh. The experiences they shared and the sense of companionship they developed with their employees at the mines affected the immigrant worker's attitudes quite as much as his lodge or his foreign-language newspaper. Off the job, the superintendents frequently identified themselves more with the communities of which they were masters than with the corporations which they served, exerting, with the help of their wives, an influence that was not subject to statistical analysis or central control. Their tacit approval or disapproval of extensions of educational opportunity or of municipal services; their leadership in church and social welfare programs; their control of banks, or real-estate development companies; their selection of foremen from one or another ethnic group; and their personal friendship with priests, politicians, or saloonkeepers were all immensely important factors in the pace and the direction of the newcomer's integration. Studies of the local captains of in-

dustry and of the factory societies over which they presided in places like South Bend, Lorain, or Youngstown would likely yield similar conclusions, and historians of immigration have a special stake in leading the way.

The impact of national professional groups upon their members, and through them upon immigrant populations, also seems newly significant from our study of the range towns. National and regional associations of mining engineers cultivated professional and ethical standards on this frontier that set limits to both corporate policy and personal greed. Professional school administrators performed a similar function. The mining captains who dominated the early school boards knew the value of topflight administration of any large and rapidly expanding operation and outbid other districts in the state to get it. The self-conscious pride of the school superintendents they employed, not only in gleaming and well-equipped new buildings but also in the equal status they enjoyed with the all-powerful men who ran the mines, is obvious at every turn of the story. Leading members of both professions had been educated at state universities in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, during the years when the academic environment nurtured progressivism.¹¹ Their tough-minded readiness to accept responsibility for social engineering poses questions that should be asked about the nature of local Americanization campaigns elsewhere as well. On the iron range, certainly, they owed less to Anglo-Saxon chauvinism than to a remarkably humane concern for an efficiently functioning society.

The roles of the three professions that dominated cultural life on nineteenth-century frontiers—the doctors, lawyers, and clergymen—varied here in ways both novel and familiar: according to the differing lengths of time that individuals served in a particular town, the strength of their local professional associations, the nature of their services, and the degree of discipline exercised by regional and national bodies. Although religious congregations were supported chiefly by their own members, grants from mission agencies in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and the Twin Cities were sufficient to knit most local congregations into a national organization. The young clergymen and rabbis who served as their pastors were not only trained and appointed by distant denominational agencies, but tended to see their professional futures leading elsewhere.

Attorneys and doctors, by contrast, tended to identify themselves permanently with one local community and to form close professional ties within the region. The doctors early managed to establish their independ-

¹¹ A statistical analysis of the careers of three hundred business and professional men who occupied leadership positions by 1920 underlies this description of occupational groups.

ence of mining company dictation, despite their reliance upon fees from company medical plans. Private hospitals evolved into prosperous clinics which in turn financed personal investments in banks and real estate. Meanwhile, they served on school boards and in various civic and welfare enterprises. In small-town societies with a narrow range of occupations, such doctors inevitably became models to the brightest immigrant youngsters. Forty-nine graduates of the high school at Chisholm entered the medical profession before 1960, thirty of them from East European families, chiefly Slavic.¹² The life histories of comparable groups of immigrant children who first broke into the professional ranks in urban localities would reveal much about their mediating role, I believe, both within and outside the emerging ethnic communities.

As with business and professional men, so with labor, the decisive question was the relationship of local to central organizations. Leaders of local workers' associations, both formal and informal, developed attitudes different from those which national and regional unions sought to cultivate. Their work was further complicated by ethnic competition on both local and national levels, by the successful appeal of Marxism to a minority within each language group, and by the immense power that the mining companies wielded over a narrow job market. These circumstances inclined such workers' organizations as did exist toward both a greater degree of radicalism and a stronger emphasis upon ethnic loyalties than their national leaders, who were chiefly Anglo-Saxon, in theory supported.¹³

A close reading of the American workers' newspapers published in each of the Eastern European languages seems necessary before the crazy quilt pattern of American socialist history can be seen whole. And understanding that pattern, in turn, must precede any adequate analysis of the relationship between the American labor movement generally and the immigrant communities that so often frustrated and divided it. The story is difficult for doctrinaire liberals to tell objectively because the immigrants who opposed radicalism on labor issues often accepted assimilation to American culture more readily. Moreover, as in other matters covered here, the variety of the languages and the complexity of the issues require a collection of source materials that covers the entire water front. And the program of research should involve steady cooperation among scholars whose total range of interests and capabilities is very wide.

¹² The list taken from the *Chisholm Free Press*, May 29, 1963, was checked against school records and interviews for ethnic identifications.

¹³ See translations of scores of letters published in the Slovene socialist newspapers, *Glas*

Finally, comparison of the process by which national ethnic communities emerged out of the local associations of Slovenes and Finns makes plain the contribution of immigrant leaders themselves to the process of acculturation. A large proportion of the Americans of these two nationalities settled in the Lake Superior region. Their Old World heritages contrasted sharply. The Finns were highly literate, Lutheran, and accustomed to a climate and topography similar to that of northern Minnesota, while the Slovenes were Roman Catholics from a Mediterranean land, and from one-fourth to one-half of them were illiterate. The latter, moreover, were the only European people to arrive in this country preceded by a substantial number of clergymen of their own nationality. For decades before 1890 Slovene priests had served as missionaries to the Chippewa Indians in the dioceses of Marquette and St. Cloud and as pastors of Czech and German frontier parishes there. Yet the institutions that the two nationalities fashioned to nurture group loyalty show striking parallels.

In 1889 Archbishop John Ireland appointed Joseph Buh, Slovene missionary and pastor at Tower and Ely, as vicar-general of the new diocese of Duluth. Buh was charged with the task of knitting the German and southern Slav newcomers on the iron ranges into the American, which is to say, Irish Catholic Church. He soon founded a weekly Slovene newspaper, however, and permitted students from St. Paul Seminary who assisted him during the summer to organize Slovene mutual benefit lodges in the mixed parishes of the mining towns. The idea spread rapidly to other midwestern states. After several years of discussion, delegates from these local lodges formed a national association known as the Grand Carniolian Catholic Union, with headquarters in Joliet, Illinois. An ethnic sect thus took shape by voluntary action, inside the structure of American Catholicism. Buh's weekly newspaper became the organ of the new body, issuing almanacs, pamphlets, and a dictionary, and summoning members to an annual convention at which the students from St. Paul Seminary provided national music. Letters from local units scattered from Pennsylvania to Colorado appeared in the newspaper each week, displaying the emotions that surrounded the search for a wider kinship among people who in the Old World would have remained strangers, bound to their own village and valley. Moreover, precisely as in experiences of sect formation among Protestants, tensions flowing from the conflict between local and general objectives produced an early secession and another national Slovene organization, the

Svoboda [Voice of Liberty], 1901-1909, and *Proletarec*, by Mary Molek, curator, at Immigrant Archives; papers of Work Peoples College, Finnish IWW school at Duluth, *ibid.*

South Slavic Catholic Union, whose headquarters after 1899 were at Ely.¹⁴

Similarly, among Lutheran Finns, local clubs and temperance societies gave rise to congregations which, in turn, coalesced gradually into three national sects. All three were heirs of divergent tendencies within the Church of Finland, which in the Old World had been held by national law and custom in a single communion. Many independent Finnish congregations in the mining region, however, refused to join any one of these denominations. Meanwhile, the temperance societies formed national brotherhoods as well—three different ones, none of which was identified with a particular religious sect. Thereafter, competition among these various national organizations for the allegiance of newcomers pressed each toward an increasing emphasis upon Finnishness.¹⁵

Both Slovene and Finnish religious communities, moreover, faced a continuous challenge from socialism, whose organization and ideology nurtured in each case a separate identity. Marxist lecturers appeared in the mining country after 1899 and converted numerous Finnish “workers clubs” to their program. No less than four sects of Finnish socialists eventually emerged, each fielding its own team of itinerant evangelists, and each cultivating ethnic loyalties through newspapers and summer schools in a manner that contradicted both the theoretical and the practical internationalism of the socialist movement. The same development occurred among Slovenes after 1902, when Marxists recently arrived from the homeland gained control of a newly formed anticlerical benefit society. Thereafter, local socialist clubs and lodges serving both nationalities insulated workers and their families from the religious congregations by cultivating national music and drama and fashioning a social life entirely centered in the group. “Hall so-

¹⁴ *Amerikanski Slovenec* is the chief source of this story, esp. articles of Oct. 14, 1892 (by F. S. Šušteršič), Oct. 30, Nov. 5, 1891 (by Ivan Pakiž, Ely), Apr. 20, 1894 (by students at St. Paul Seminary), June 28, 1895 (reprinted in *Glasiło K.S.K.J.*, Apr. 7, 1915). See also *Zgodinja Danica* [Morning Star], XLVIII (Nov. 15, 1895), 370; *Jubilejna Spominska Knjiga . . . Tridesetletnice K.S.K.J.* [Jubilee Memorial Book . . . Thirteenth Anniversary . . . Grand Carniolian-Slovenian Catholic Union . . .] (Cleveland, 1924), 19, 23, 59, *et passim*; and Joe Zavertnik, *Amerikanski Slovenci . . .* [American Slovenes . . .] (Chicago, 1925), 375, on JSK. (Translations of these citations, chiefly by Mary Molek, are in the Immigrant Archives.)

¹⁵ William Rautanan, *Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko* [The Finnish American Church] (Hancock, Mich., 1911), 241–47; Uuras Saarnivaara, *Amerikan Laestadiolaisuuden eli Apostoliluterilaisuuden Historia* [American Laestadian or Apostolic Lutheran History] (Ironwood, Mich., 1947), an English summary of which appeared the following year; J. E. Nopola, *Evangelis-Luterilainen Kansalliskirkko . . .* [Evangelical Lutheran National Church . . .] (Ironwood, Mich., 1949), 1–49, *passim*; Akseli Järnefelt, *Suomalaiset Amerikkaasa* [The Finns in America] (Helsinki, 1899), 141–45; and *Kirkollinen Kalenteri . . . 1904* [Church Almanac . . . 1904] (Hancock, Mich., 1904), 64–65, 72–87. Douglas Ollila of Gustavus Adolphus College has assisted me in the translation of these references; his unpublished dissertation, done at Boston University, is the best introduction to theological phases of Finnish church history in America.

cialism" became a synonym for ethnic as much as for ideological activity.¹⁶

The several strands of this story offer numerous suggestions for research in immigrant history. A comparison of the effectiveness of the Roman Catholic hierarchy with that of the leaders of American socialism in restraining the growth of ethnic particularism in their midst is certainly in order; it would gain much from recent studies of the sociology of large-scale organization. The use of education as a device of indoctrination among both church and socialist groups is also obvious. But how did the consequences vary with the degree of control of local by national officers, or with the sharpness of the separation between competing associations of the same nationality? What difference did neighborhood ties with other nationalities make? Did the identification of religion with the established order in America strengthen the appeal of immigrant churches to those newcomers who sought individual material success? Did socialism, then, when organized on an ethnic basis, serve more to retard the processes of assimilation, and so to popularize cultural pluralism among the intelligentsia? Finally, how did the simple fact of a common language and national origin in the long run win out over ideological division and bring the various segments of each nationality closer together?

These and many similar questions beg for reasoned answers by students willing and able to look at immigrant history as a whole. Other legitimate and important approaches will, of course, continue to evoke studies of a much different kind from the ones recommended here. But until historians pay as much attention to the processes of assimilation as they have to the persistence of ethnic loyalties, not only in small towns, but in great cities as well, we will know only half of the story. Experiences of alienation, and the resulting crises of identity, may prove to have sprung more from rivalries and estrangements within the immigrant communities than from any pressures exerted from the outside. And the drive of the immigrant himself, moving individually as well as through organized groups toward what has often been called "Americanization," but which is better termed "urbanization," may turn out to be the central theme.

¹⁶ See *Sosialisti* [The Socialist] (newspaper organ of the syndicalist or IWW wing of Finnish socialists), Sept. 1, 3, 1914 (describing origins of Work Peoples College, Duluth), and, for other matters, Dec. 11, June 13, 22, 1914 (on itinerant lecturers), Sept. 7, 1914 (a socialist funeral); *Työmies* [The Laborer] (organ of democratic socialism, 1904–present), Jan. 4, Feb. 1, 1910; and *Aakkosis Sosiaalistien Lapsilla* [A Primer for Socialist Children], ed. A. B. Makela (Hancock, Mich., n.d.). For Slovene socialism, *Zavetnik* covers the ground, but often inaccurately. See also Ivan Molek, "Over Hill and Dale: Autobiographical Sketches" (MS tr. by Mary Molek, Immigrant Archives), the best general source on free-thinking Slovenes in America, 247–53; the files of *Glas Svobode*, 1902–1909; *Ameriski Druzinski Koledar . . . 1935* [American Family Almanac . . . 1935] (Chicago, 1935), 141–42 *et passim*; Slovene Library Club, Ely, Minn., "Minute Books," Immigrant Archives; and tr. of letters from *Proletarec* by Molek.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY, STOCKHOLM, AUGUST 1960. CONTRIBUTIONS: A. INDUSTRIALISATION AS A FACTOR IN ECONOMIC GROWTH AFTER 1700; B. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LARGE-SCALE AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE IN POST-MEDIEVAL TIMES. COMMUNICATIONS. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Congrès et Colloques, Volume I.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1960. Pp. 593.)

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY, AIX-EN-PROVENCE, 1962. Volume I, TRADE AND POLITICS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD; Volume II, MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN TIMES. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Congrès et Colloques, Volume VIII.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. 162; 863.)

LES GRANDES VOIES MARITIMES DANS LE MONDE: XV^e–XIX^e SIÈCLES. RAPPORTS PRÉSENTÉS AU XII^e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES PAR LA COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE D'HISTOIRE MARITIME À L'OCCASION DE SON VII^e COLLOQUE (VIENNE, 29 AOÛT–5 SEPTEMBRE 1965). [Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 330.)

ADAM Smith's *Wealth of Nations* greatly stressed the economic advantages to be derived from the division of labor. Then it added: "In the progress of society, philosophy . . . becomes . . . the principal or sole trade and occupation of a particular class of citizens. Like every other employment too, it is subdivided into a great number of branches . . . ; and this subdivision of employment in philosophy, as well as in every other business, improves dexterity, and saves time. Each individual becomes more expert in his own particular branch, more work is done upon the whole, and the quantity of science is considerably increased by it."

Nothing that Smith wrote was truer than this. In the field of history, at least, we have seen the "divide and progress" rule carried to extraordinary lengths. We have seen, moreover, scholars with similar special interests from different disciplines come together to pool their mutual resources; under the aegis of UNESCO we have seen them joined in international organizations for a more concerted effort to push the boundaries of ignorance a little further from us. The books considered here are the result of such efforts; they are the papers presented at

the first two international congresses of economic historians and those given at the seventh meeting of the closely allied International Commission of Maritime History.

The volumes from the economic history congresses reveal the major concerns of present-day economic historians. The center of their activity is clearly economic development; the reverse of the coin, which may be called economic underdevelopment; and satellite themes of economic development and social welfare, economic development and demography, and economic development's methodological problems. The volume on maritime history indicates the nature of the work of the international commission, which includes preparation under the direction of Charles Verlinden of the Belgian Academy in Rome of an international bibliography concerning great maritime routes, revision of a nautical glossary, and analysis of important questions in maritime trade. This volume is devoted essentially to a study of the liaisons between maritime and land routes from the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

America's role in these congresses has been impressive. Among those who have presented papers have been Thomas C. Cochran, Walter W. Rostow, David Landes, Harold Williamson, Douglass C. North, Sidney Ratner, Alexander Gerschenkron, Evsey D. Domar, and Rondo Cameron. The papers by Rostow on the take-off and by North on "The Role of Transportation in the Economic Development of North America" elicited considerable interest, while the paper by North in the maritime volume should be read by every American historian. The only paper to receive severe strictures was Cameron's; he was charged with presenting theories that were taxonomic and tautological.

As a participant in two of these three meetings, I can testify not only to the high quality of the papers that have been given but also to the value of the contacts and exchanges of ideas that such gatherings make possible. Opportunities to meet colleagues from other ideological areas and from some fifty nations are rare indeed, but on the basis of my experience I believe that they should be encouraged.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

DER HISTORIKER UND DIE WELTGESCHICHTE. By *Fritz Wagner*. [Studium Universale.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1965. Pp. 187. DM 17.80.)

PROFESSOR Wagner belongs to that group of German historians, including such men as Theodor Schieder, Werner Conze, and Otto Brunner, who since the Second World War have become increasingly aware of the inadequacy of classical German historiography to come to grips with the realities of a modern technological mass society and who have stressed the need for an approach to history that gives greater emphasis to the analysis of social structures and to the comparative study of institutions. This work goes beyond a critical analysis of the methodological assumptions of present-day historical scholarship to a re-examination of its fundamental philosophic presuppositions. The book consists of three quite distinct parts, the first presenting a highly compact survey of approaches to world history in European historiography from the Greeks to the present.

From this vantage point the German classical contribution to historical science, which became the model for historical science generally, appears much more parochial than it did to Meinecke for whom it still represented "the highest state in the understanding of things human."

The second part, devoted to Ranke's conception of history, illustrates the parochialism of the German school through an examination of the historiographical concepts of its greatest representative. Although Ranke was more deeply aware of the great collective forces operating in history than most German historians have been, he remained blind to basic social realities. Nor does Wagner agree with the aged Meinecke who after the war suggested that Burckhardt's cultural approach to history represented a meaningful alternative to Ranke's state-oriented historiography. Both Ranke and Burckhardt still viewed history from a narrow aristocratic, humanistic point of view far removed from the realities of the world-wide technological mass society emerging today. This new world, Wagner argues in the final section of the book, requires a total re-examination of traditional historical concepts. Historiography must be freed from both its aristocratic and its European bias. Historians must not only be willing to learn new methods from the neighboring social science disciplines and to place more emphasis on the comparative study of institutions and civilizations, but they must also rethink their Europe-centered conceptual apparatus. The great contribution of German classical historicism at this crucial point is its openness to cultural otherness and its recognition that all human cognition is time bound. Wagner recognizes that scientific history can never reduce world history to a meaningful pattern. Historiography must free itself from the Christian-European conception of linear process and search for *kairos*, the fullness of many historical moments. But Wagner rejects the relativistic and subjectivistic implications of the historicist position. History, he agrees with Martin Buber, has a real basis in man's encounter with "the fundamental fact of Being" that underlies all existence. Genuine history, he argues, has always involved concern with the problems of the meaning of human existence, and scientific history must not be permitted to break the vital link between history and philosophy. It is to be hoped that this significant essay will soon find an English translator.

State University of New York, Buffalo

GEORG G. IGGERS

MERCHANTS & SCHOLARS: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF EXPLORATION AND TRADE. COLLECTED IN MEMORY OF JAMES FORD BELL. Edited by *John Parker*. [Publication from the James Ford Bell Collection in the Walter Library, University of Minnesota.] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1965. Pp. 258. \$7.50.)

JAMES Ford Bell was "a merchant who was interested in the origins of present world trade relations, and who viewed commerce as the major driving force in the modern world." At the same time, he regarded the "student as an essential partner of the merchant." It is not surprising, therefore, that these essays in memory of Bell should have as their unifying theme the interdependability of the scholar and the merchant, the latter essentially in the role of the explorer.

The James Ford Bell Collection, founded by a merchant-industrialist who

was prominent in the modern economic history of Minnesota, was incorporated into the University of Minnesota Library in 1953. The ten essays included in this volume are based on or are related to materials in the collection and reflect the breadth of its scope and the rich diversity of its content.

In the first essay Thomas Goldstein considers the geographical concepts of Florence in the fifteenth century. Elizabeth Feist Hirsch then describes the attitude of the humanists toward the discoveries, while Burton Stein traces the rise of the Coromandel trade in medieval India in the third essay. John W. Webb discusses the sources of the Van Deutecum map of Russia and Tartary, while Ernest C. Abbe and Frank J. Gillis consider the work of Henry Hudson and the early cartographic work in the Hudson Bay, 1610-1631.

David B. Quinn investigates English effort to colonize the Saint Lawrence, 1577-1602, and Ward Barrett describes sugar production in the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The final three essays are on galley slaves in France, 1665-1700, by Paul W. Bamford; English exploration in the region of the Strait of Magellan by Helen Wallis; and De Lozier Bouvet's pioneer trade expansion in the Pacific by O. H. K. Spate. The essays are introduced by the curator of the collection, John Parker.

These essays constitute not only an extension of information regarding the broad variety of subjects with which they deal, but they also reflect the nature of the James Ford Bell Collection. With the other publications of the collection they are a real contribution to the field of historical literature. They present detailed studies of the themes concerned and are written in an interesting and convincing manner. The subjects are well chosen and cover the wide field of activity in the cooperation of the merchant in advancing and the scholar in describing the work of discovery.

Rollins College

RHEA MARSH SMITH

THE RISE OF THE TECHNOCRATS: A SOCIAL HISTORY. By W. H. G. Armytage. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 448. \$9.00.)

To most American historians the word "technocrat" has a very special meaning, referring to an adherent of the economic and social doctrines advanced in the 1930's by Howard Scott, a disciple of Veblen, as a substitute for the contemporary "price system." Anyone approaching this book as a history of the development of "technocracy" will be disappointed; Scott and Veblen are dismissed in a couple of pages, and what Americans usually mean by "technocracy" receives only passing references.

Although Armytage never fully defines his terms, by "technocrats" he apparently means a technical intelligentsia who advance the idea that a planned ordering of society in accordance with scientific and technological knowledge and accomplishments will make for a better world. Armytage's concepts, however, seem so amorphous that in the process of tracing the rise of this technical intelligentsia he also traces the development of modern science through its beginnings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, materialistic and pragmatic philosophies,

totalitarian political doctrines, the institutionalization and professionalization of science and technology, the managerial revolution, socialist thought, and a host of other items. Undoubtedly all these elements entered into the cultural stream of modern times, but that does not mean that all who participated in these developments were technocrats. Yet by innuendo Armytage repeatedly implies that all those who have aided in the advance of science and technology are engaged in a gigantic conspiracy to force men to order and rule their lives according to scientific and technological principles. This is, furthermore, an international conspiracy, extending to all nations that have sought to raise their standards of living by fostering scientific and technological developments. The result is a queer mélange of fact perverted by superficial interpretation and false analogy.

Armytage apparently believes in guilt by historical association. Thus Carnegie and Rockefeller, by their support of educational and scientific institutions, contributed to the rise of the technocrats; every "socialist" thinker, from the utopians through Karl Marx to Walter Lippmann (!) is a technocrat; trade associations, scholarly scientific societies, professional engineering organizations, and large corporations are technocratically inspired or motivated. Indeed, every scholar who has delivered a research paper at an international scientific conference, by Armytage's curious chain of reasoning, is a dedicated and conscious agent of the international technocratic conspiracy.

Though the author has read widely and provided much factual information regarding the rise of scientific academies and the institutionalization of science and technology within modern society, it is a shame that such vast erudition should serve a conspiracy theory of history that is such palpable nonsense. The lengthy bibliography is marred by numerous misprints and errors in the names of authors, publishers, and dates.

Perhaps we should not be surprised at such an interpretation of the cultural and social history of science and technology. Having had the "theatre of the absurd," the "poetry of the absurd," and the "art of the absurd," we now have the "history of the absurd."

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

POPULATION IN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY.

Edited by D. V. Glass and D. E. Eversley. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1965. Pp. ix, 692. \$17.50.)

PROFESSOR Glass and Dr. Eversley have assembled in one thick, expensive volume twenty-seven pieces by scholars of various nationalities. Reviewers usually find such collections, as books, uneven. *Population in History* is unlikely to reverse this general tendency. But it is, nonetheless, an important publication, the first of its kind in an exciting "new" field, and its appearance marks, at last, the official coming-of-age of historical demography.

Of the twenty-seven chapters, only three appear to be newly written for this volume. Two of these are the editors' introductions, and one, written by Jim Potter of the London School of Economics, is entirely original. Little actual "editing" has been done, and several chapters have no indication as to provenance or original form or date of publication. The headnotes that one or two chapters have been given are too brief to be of much help.

What market do the editors hope to reach? As a teaching tool for a Senior or graduate seminar the book could be improved in a second edition. One could not reasonably expect an index to these seven hundred pages, but readers do deserve a careful bibliography of works cited—to serve as a guide to the field and to include place and date of publication in all cases. Styles of citation vary within the book, and some contributors have been fairly casual. Confusion as to focus is also seen in the choice of items. The decision to limit the selection to population history in the West since the seventeenth century was sensible, but if the aim for the following three hundred years was to illustrate in some fashion the field of historical demography, one could argue for a more representative choice of articles. Both internal and external migration deserve more attention. As for attendant problems of length and price, space could be created by dropping other pieces, the usefulness of which might be questioned in this particular book. For scholars some of these reprints were unnecessary; for students more editing would help. Glass's somewhat uncompromising, detailed history of the field (Chapter 1) is perhaps less encouraging to would-be students than Eversley's excellent and lucid general description of what historical demography is and what it hopes to do (Chapter 11).

For scholars the most significant chapter will undoubtedly be Potter's, on American population growth, 1700–1860—an entirely fresh examination of a neglected problem. Potter re-evaluates secondary materials and integrates them ably with his previously untapped sources (notably the Governors' Reports of 1773 in the Downshire Papers), and in so doing he overturns many misconceptions and past orthodoxies. As the concluding chapter in *Population in History*, the article is a formidable sample of that special combination of statistical mastery with imaginative analytical insight so necessary in historical demography.

Smith College

PETER D'A. JONES

MODERN VARIETIES OF JUDAISM. By *Joseph L. Blau*. [Lectures on the History of Religions Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies. New Series, Number 8.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 217. \$6.00.)

ORGANIZED Judaism still bears the stigmata of history. Every contemporary Jewish movement is primarily a philosophical or practical response to the opportunities of emancipation and the continuing threat of anti-Semitism. Only slightly have Jewish thinkers been free to approach the real question: what help can Judaism offer to contemporary man, caught in the intellectual and emotional perplexities of the postmodern world.

Professor Blau traces in illuminating detail the origin of the major modern Jewish movements as varied reactions to the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century emancipation of Jews from the crushing burdens of medievalism. New definitions had to be created to delineate the significance of the body of accumulated habit and tradition in a world where Jews were to some degree free to mingle with their neighbors and participate in the life of their time. Reformers attempted to institute changes in practice, ritual, and concept that would permit Jews to share the optimism and meliorism of nineteenth-century Western Europe and America. Neo-Orthodox leaders sought to defend the authority of the

tradition by insisting that no basic contradiction existed between the Jewish past and the modern present. Conservatism developed as a halfway compromise, asserting the need for organic growth rather than revolutionary change. Zionism arose as an effort to "normalize" the position of the Jews on nationalistic rather than on religious grounds. Blau might also have portrayed the growth of other movements that have all but disappeared. Almost everything that Jews have felt and done as Jews has been in response to the dilemma of Jewish existence in tension with an environment that offers both freedom and hostility.

Jews as individuals have had to come to terms with all of the currents of modern thought that confute simplistic, traditional patterns of religion. But they have not been free to be anonymous individuals to any great degree. They have been compelled to define the nature of their Jewish existence whether they wanted to or not. Herein lies great tragedy. That they have made enduring contributions to modern Western civilization as individuals, despite the trauma of living in a world that could permit six million of them to be put to death simply because they were Jews, speaks much for their personal courage. That Jewish movements have also been creative and dynamic in dealing with the problematic challenge of being a part of this world is worthy of the attention Blau has given to his study.

Although it is intended to be only a brief introduction to the development of contemporary Judaism, this is a pioneering work. It is well documented, skillfully written, and eminently fair to each of the movements discussed.

Hebrew Union College

BERTRAM W. KORN

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume VIII, THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS, 1763-93. Edited by A. Goodwin. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xxii, 747. \$9.50.)

The New Cambridge Modern History, like its predecessor of over sixty years ago, has not had a very enthusiastic press, particularly in the general reviews. Yet the chief unfavorable criticism made in such reviews, that these volumes are mostly dull, if not unreadable, is not quite fair. It is probably true that very few, even among candidates for the doctorate in the United States and the Commonwealth, are going to read this or any other volume in the series from cover to cover. Perhaps to an even greater degree than its predecessor, this work is not, in fact, a history in the conventional sense, but a reference book on a particular portion of history. It ought to be reviewed as a special kind of reference work, chronologically and topically arranged rather than by alphabetically listed articles or by simple chronology.

For this purpose it has many assets and is on the whole well done. But it does have one especially grave defect, noted by every professional reviewer of previous volumes: bibliographies are to be postponed to a final "companion" volume which will cover the whole series. Even when this volume comes out, it will be a nuisance for the student to switch back and forth to it; meanwhile, the footnotes, though reasonably abundant (they were lacking in the original series) and usually up to date, are again not what the student or other searcher

who consults it needs. The ground covered in this volume was, in the original series, covered in parts of three volumes (VI–VIII), one of which (VII) was a separate treatment of United States history. Now the French Revolution is left suspended with the execution of Louis XVI and the beginning of the war with Great Britain, but the subsequent volume (IX) remedies this difficulty; and granted *The New Cambridge Modern History* is no more than a reference work and not an aesthetic or even analytical whole, the way it is broken up into periods is not very important.

Several major topics, all argued for strenuously by sponsors of the New History at the time the original *Cambridge Modern History* appeared, now turn up in this one. Over two hundred pages have been taken up with such topics as demography, economic thought, literature, music, art and architecture, science and technology, educational ideas and practices, and armed forces and the art of war (not conventional military history) before we get to narrative history. The level of all these articles is at least adequate for reference purposes. There are also several articles concerned with generalizations—to avoid the horrid word synthesis—of a kind almost wholly lacking in the old *Cambridge Modern History*. Professor Habakkuk brings skillfully and briefly up to date under the title “Population, Commerce and Economic Ideas” the kind of economic history that concerns us most nowadays; he provides, furthermore, a most useful appendix on estimated growth of population for most countries in Europe and North America in the eighteenth century, with his sources duly indicated. Professor R. R. Palmer, in a chapter on “Social and Psychological Foundations of the Revolutionary Era,” summarizes cogently his own and other recent work on this important subject. Professor J. McManners contributes a good survey of the historiography of the French Revolution up to the present day.

The British and Spanish colonies in America, and the American Revolution, are here treated as part of the general history, not, as in the old series, reserved for a separate volume. Professors Max Beloff and Edmund Wright and Dr. Maldwyn Jones contribute the chapters on North America. That they should do so confidently, capably, and professionally testifies to the great progress the history of the United States has made in the British Isles in the last sixty years. The important chapters on France are treated by British or British-formed scholars: Messrs. J. F. Bosher, D. Dakin, G. E. Rudé, and A. Goodwin. Their stance is essentially that of the school of the late Georges Lefebvre. Certainly they have all been so influenced by French historians that the omission of any actual French contributor to this volume is not a serious one. It might be noted, however, that four-fifths of the contributors are from the British academic world, the rest from the United States, Canadian, and Australian academic worlds. A scattering of continental European contributors, a feature of the earlier *Cambridge Modern History*, is not to be found in this particular volume. But when one reflects on the fate of the UNESCO histories, this cultural narcissism may not be altogether regretted.

In the balance, most of this volume is sound, unexciting, conventional academic and professional history. It does not venture, save for Palmer’s chapter, very far into comparative history. It pays its respects to the subject matter of what used to be called the New History in James Harvey Robinson’s sense, but it does not dally except for economics with any social or behavioral science. It

really does not seem, for the most part, very much concerned with human beings. But perhaps a reference book of this sort ought not to have such a concern.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

EMPIRE AND INDEPENDENCE: THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Richard W. Van Alstyne*. [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. ix, 255. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.45.)

WHAT is "international" history? It is not the history of diplomacy and still less of foreign policy, Professor Van Alstyne states in his preface. It has to do with "deeper currents," such as the forces that worked on the British government, internal conditions in Britain and America, the interplay of personalities, the stubborn British faith that a majority of Americans were loyalists, and the role of sea power. These were indeed factors in the struggle; any one of them is worth a book, and several have recently had books devoted to them. But combining such disparate ingredients in a single short volume results less in an international view of the Revolution than in a blurring of focus.

Some of the author's points are clear and well taken, such as the role of France in preventing American bankruptcy or in curbing American ambitions for conquest. But other points rest on weak arguments. American historians are wrong, we are told, in what they "have dogmatically asserted for years"—that Burgoyne's surrender caused French military intervention—for France had already committed itself to war, weeks before Saratoga, by reinforcing the West Indies. Yet what actually brought war, the author goes on to say, was the British peace offer of 1778, which had "a strong, perhaps a decisive, influence in edging the French into the alliance [with the United States] which they had for so long wished to avoid." If the British offer and the French response were not results of Saratoga, what were they? A second example concerns the invasion of Britain that France and Spain projected in 1779. Because the two allies had "ignored" the Americans in planning the invasion, "it is a foregone conclusion that they would not have brought them to the peace table in the event of a Bourbon victory." The conclusion does not follow, for why should the United States not have been "ignored" in planning naval operations in the Channel?

An international history of the Revolution would be welcome, if it were a study either of revolutionary ideas as they affected European thinking, or of the war as it affected European statecraft at large. *Empire and Independence* is neither. It is a mélange with some interesting points but with no clear structure and no great novelty in material or interpretation.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

THE PEACEMAKERS: THE GREAT POWERS AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. By *Richard B. Morris*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. xviii, 572. \$10.00.)

THIS able narrative is the most comprehensive and readable account of the negotiations that ended the world war touched off by the American Revolution. Morris presents few strikingly new interpretations of major events or themes;

his prodigious archival research tends instead to flesh out older views. This is, however, the first monograph devoted exclusively to the peace-making process between 1779 and 1783. It provides much new detail, and it is written with a marvelous combination of vigor and urbanity.

The first three-fifths of the book sets the stage for the negotiations of 1782. Sometimes the detail is excessive—nineteen pages on a British *agent provocateur* in Holland—but we are left with a convincing picture of a war-weary, cynical Europe disdainful of American rights and ambitions. Even Vergennes, especially during the long and usually disingenuous negotiations over Austro-Russian mediation, showed himself ready to sell his ally down the river if this could be done without too obvious a harvest of dishonor.

With the opening of Franklin-Oswald conversations in April 1782 Morris' pace quickens, and there follows a fine examination of the tangled negotiations, full of duplicity and suspicion, which resulted in world peace and American independence. Morris understands, but scarcely sympathizes with Vergennes's difficulties, elaborates with gleeful distaste the familiar story of the Frenchman's sabotage of American positions, and finally concludes that the minister was basically shortsighted and therefore a failure as a statesman. For Morris as for others, Shelburne remains enigmatic, a man torn between a desire for peace and a wish to preserve some tie with America, a minister uncandid with colleagues and disloyal to subordinates for good and bad reasons, a tactician by turns nobly bold and supinely willing to abandon fundamental beliefs.

The Americans fare better, although Morris leaves Franklin in the shadow and excoriates Adams' well-known shortcomings. Jay is Morris' hero, the main-spring of negotiations at Paris, and those of his actions which cause debate are not subjected to rigorous analysis, notably his impulsive and unilateral approach to Shelburne when frightened by the dispatch of Vergennes's secretary to London. More by implication than direct statement, Morris emphasizes the essential unity of the Americans. Each insisted that recognition of American independence was not negotiable, that no price must be paid for it. Each (from the most interested, Franklin, through Adams to Jay) hoped America would acquire Canada, but was not prepared to struggle to obtain it. All easily agreed, for reasons the author fails to clarify, to retreat not merely from all Canada but from the Nipissing line, which would have left the United States in possession of what became the industrial heartland of Canada.

Finally, it should be said, like most American historians, Richard Morris seems to assume that, because the envoys served a noble people, their cynical and even dishonest efforts are to be excused, whereas their European counterparts are to be condemned because they served less enlightened states. In fact Jay, Franklin, and Adams triumphed precisely because they adopted the brutal morality of their contemporaries. They betrayed their instructions and the spirit of the alliance with France to obtain great benefits for their country. They cannot, as Morris seems to imply, be defended on moral grounds. They initiated, their contemporaries echoed, and their countrymen since have reaffirmed the false claim that Americans normally act with a morality superior to that of statesmen of other nations.

YANKEES AND SAMURAI. AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN JAPAN: 1791-1900. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. x, 275. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Dulles' book represents the latest in a long list of books that have probed the history of relations between the United States and Japan. *Yankees and Samurai* covers some of the same ground as Robert Schwantes' *Japanese and Americans* and the late Sir George Sansom's *The Western World and Japan*. Its approach, however, is somewhat different in that it emphasizes the personal experiences of individuals. Most of the narrative is devoted to recounting the actions and achievements of American diplomats, teachers, advisers, and writers who went to Japan in the nineteenth century and helped develop the country into a modern state.

Since the book relies primarily on American sources and Japanese works in translation, we learn relatively little about the Japanese response to the presence of the Yankees. Although the subtitle of the book is *America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan: 1791-1900*, we receive little insight into a definition of that role. The difficulty seems to be that, when we study the cultural relations between nations, we need some explicit theories of cultural borrowing and cultural change in order to be able to explain the past. Dulles notes that at first Japan borrowed excessively from the West, but later the "Japanese program of modernization became one of careful and critical adaptation." If so, what did the Japanese borrow, what did they not borrow, and what adaptations did they make in the things they borrowed? It is unfortunate that the author did not raise questions of this kind when he reviewed his material.

Another point that Dulles makes is that, in the early period of American-Japanese contact, the Japanese were very suspicious. There followed a period of friendship during which the United States acted as a protector and mentor. Most of the book, of course, is devoted to a description of this period. As individuals, Americans were well received, and friendly personal associations were established. Yet, as the author notes, the period of friendship ended sometime after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905; from that point until 1945 American-Japanese relations were marked by increasing political rivalry and mutual antagonism. The author attributes this development to the rise of nationalism in Japan and imperialism in America. I am inclined to believe that a more fundamental reason was the guardian-ward relationship. Japan wanted to stop being a ward, but the United States did not agree.

Stanford University

NOBUTAKA IKE

SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Edited and with a general preface by *René Taton*. Translated by *A. J. Pomerans*. [History of Science.] (New York: Basic Books. 1965. Pp. xxi, 623. \$17.50.)

It is difficult to see who would benefit from reading this book. Nonspecialists who are baffled by the more technical parts can rest assured that these seem just as odd to the specialist, who finds in them little more than names of theories with attached lists of scientists. The student can be told that he need not remember all

of these names, but I am sure that he must understand more about some few of them than he can learn here. The specialist in one field of the history of science cannot use the sections of the book devoted to other fields to enlarge the range of his knowledge, for, by and large, the accounts do not represent the current state of knowledge in any field. The bibliography is a collection of book names that a professor would not want to distribute to his students. The most distressing section is that on "Science and Society." It almost seems as though some improbable demon has manipulated the book so as to make even its distinguished editor sound jejune. If it is time to write general history of science—and I think it is—then the necessarily selective intelligence of a single Daumas or Crombie is, in the true sense of the word, more accurate as a historical guide than such a conventional miscellany as this.

The brief chapter on chemistry achieves a lucidity, even a distinction, not present throughout most of the volume. The two chapters on "Vertebrate Anatomy" and "Paleontology" also indicate an intelligent mind at work under difficult conditions.

Smithsonian Institution

WALTER F. CANNON

FREEDOM IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Herbert J. Muller*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1966. Pp. xv, 559. \$10.00.)

WITH this book, third in a series treating the history of freedom, Herbert J. Muller completes a work whose theme seems to echo that of the famous book Lord Acton projected and never wrote. Muller's volume is divided into two nearly equal parts, the first covering the nineteenth century, the second, the twentieth. Within these chronological periods the book deals with familiar matters: "The Romantic Movement," "The Industrial Revolution," "Political Revolutions," and "Revolutions of Thought and Culture in the Nineteenth Century"; while for the twentieth century the author resorts to three rubrics: "World War I," "Aftermath of the War," the "Rise of Totalitarianism." He then devotes a last and very sketchy chapter to the "Impact of the Non-Western World"—the first time the other four-fifths of mankind has figured in his story; and concludes with an epilogue on World War II and after.

Much of what he says is said gracefully. This perhaps is justification enough for such a book. Yet over and over again I found myself wondering what this has to do with the history of freedom. Perhaps Muller's response would be: anything men think or do is relevant to a history of freedom, since it will illustrate "the condition of being able to choose and carry out purposes" (Muller's definition of freedom) or its absence. But of course, by such a definition everything becomes grist for the mill, and what Muller has done is to select conventionally and arbitrarily some things to talk about while omitting others. There seem to be no very compelling reasons for his choices.

The author's guiding principle and organizing device is what he calls "the principle of ambiguity." According to this principle everything is both good and bad, advances freedom and restricts it. Most of the book, therefore, is built upon a series of observations about one or another major movement of the Western world during the last century and a half, first pointing out its good points and

then neatly balancing such praise with an equal catalogue of weaknesses or corruptions or dangers inherent in the whole endeavor. A certain irenic detachment results, yet the reader wearies at the mechanical character of such a scheme which rarely rises to any original insight or suggestion.

On some issues Muller abandons his formula of "Yes, but," for he unambiguously (but coolly) denounces Hitler and other men and movements of our own time. His passions are those of a good American liberal of the mid-twentieth century. Perhaps because so many of us share his bias his history seems insipid.

A more basic criticism is that Muller seems not to have faced the fundamental questions implied by his subject. The philosophical issue of free will versus determinism, and the more historical question of "freedom for whom?" does not emerge with any new focus or sharpened definition from Muller's bland and balanced pages. Hence, since he refrained from seeking to penetrate the deeper recesses of his subject, it appears that Muller has not written Lord Acton's unwritten masterpiece after all.

University of Chicago

WILLIAM H. McNEILL

RUSSO-PERSIAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS, 1828-1914. By *Marvin L. Entner*. [University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, Number 28.] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. 80. \$2.00.)

THIS gracious little monograph serves to exemplify the lacunae in, and the promise of, detailed and loving research in seemingly trivial matters of pre-Soviet Russian history. If we have more like this, we may be able to dispense with many of the superficial and nonsensical generalizations we have too long nourished. In eighty pages are woven threads and themes of Russian economic and financial history, developmental economics of the nineteenth century, Russian, British, and other colonial machinations in Persia and neighboring lands, and the glories, banalities, and ludicrousness of traditional European (including Russian) diplomacy. Entner exhausts none of these; he reveals all of them as marvelous touchstones of future research.

Entner begins with a fanciful but persuading account of a Russian merchant in Persia, Sadko, and his special problems of solvency. This is balanced by a recitation of the "very important treaty" of Turkmanchai and its commercial protocol following Russian victory over the Persians in 1826-1828. The second section discusses the political-diplomatic-economic rivalry, of Russia and England particularly, in the period from the 1860's to 1890. Without chronicling every transient detail the account well summarizes the several spheres of competition in Persia: railroads, banks, and highways, as well as trade itself. This is done against the backdrop of high and low Great Power politics in the region. A high point was reached early in 1890 with a Russian ministerial decision to defer the question of an intensification of railway politics in Persia and to continue "the policy of quiet economic penetration." The third and final section, "Ruble Imperialism," deals with the 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century, particularly the application of the "Witte system" of economic penetration in one of Russia's bordering countries. Here Entner deems the role of the Russo-Per-

sian Bank to be central, a role as much political as economic. This section concludes with a résumé and close examination of Russian and Persian commercial statistics for the early years of the twentieth century, together with a critique reminiscent of some of the work of G. N. Clark.

There is no index, but one is not necessary. The cited research is excellent (predominantly in older Russian materials), and close scrutiny has turned up only three typographical errors in Russian transliterations. Finally the writing is spritely and disciplined. Entner promises that this is "the first leg of a long trek I plan to take along Russia's nineteenth century Asiatic frontiers, analyzing and describing as I move eastward Tsarist Russia's economic relations with those lands lying over the border." *Bon voyage*.

University of North Carolina

C. M. FOUST

THE PROUD TOWER: A PORTRAIT OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE WAR, 1890-1914. By *Barbara W. Tuchman*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1966. Pp. xv, 528. \$7.95.)

IN her foreword Barbara Tuchman insists that the diplomatic origins of the Great War have been studied to the point of diminishing returns and that, in any case, they "were only the fever chart of the patient." She proposes, therefore, "to probe for underlying causes and deeper forces . . . and to concentrate on society rather than the state, . . . power politics, and economic rivalries." After such an auspicious and bold statement of purpose the body of this book comes as a vast disappointment. Even if she had dealt with the waning of the *belle époque* and the mounting crisis in all-European terms, without relating these to the mounting international tensions, she could have made a long-overdue contribution. As it is, however, her *Proud Tower* is a pastiche rather than "a portrait of the world before the War, 1890-1914." Tuchman quite arbitrarily limits her world to America, Britain, France, and Germany, cavalierly ignoring Italy and dismissing Eastern Europe. Equally arbitrarily she views developments in Britain through the replacement of the patriciate by "a new class," without ever puzzling about the less visible continuities in gentlemanly power; developments in France through the Dreyfus affair and those in America through the career of Representative Thomas B. Reed, without bothering about the course of events between the turn of the century and the outbreak of the war; and developments in Germany through the bombastic career of Richard Strauss without connecting it with the soaring contradictions within late imperial society and polity. Each of these chapters stands rigorously by itself, there being no effort at comparative analysis. The two chapters on the demise of anarchism and the domestication of socialism have the topical focus that is so glaringly lacking in the rest of the book. But even these two chapters suffer from the failure to relate these two movements, particularly since the extremists of both staged a comeback in the ranks of revolutionary syndicalism on the eve of the war.

Admittedly Tuchman's gift for clear narrative and synthesis, first demonstrated in *The Guns of August*, still serves her well. At the same time, though she makes no pretense of being an analytic and interpretive historian, her pen-

chant for gratuitous sketches of politicians' personalities, motives, and mustaches tricks her into painting an excessively frivolous picture of the prewar era. If one of her aims is to caution today's American power elite against being impervious to rising internal and external tensions, which might harbor another unwanted cataclysm, her fascination with colorful trivia and her soporific tone conspire to defeat her purpose.

Princeton University

ARNO J. MAYER

UNITED STATES POLICY AND THE PARTITION OF TURKEY, 1914-1924. By *Laurence Evans*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXII (1964), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. 437. \$7.95.)

THIS policy study of major proportions is based on all of the principal documentary sources relative to the subject. It deals meticulously with the phases through which United States policy passed regarding Turkey, during and after World War I, from noninvolvement to intense concern and back to noninvolvement. In this survey, much information is given on circumstances previously not well known or understood. The extent to which President Wilson's Fourteen Points served as the mother lode of United States policy, especially with reference to the Ottoman domain, is explicit or implicit throughout the volume: "It is necessary to look behind what was said publicly to the application of the Fourteen Points to specific political situations in order to arrive at their significance in the formulation of American foreign policy and its implementation." Probably it would have been useful to have added this formulation of ideals and principles to the text in an appendix.

The detail in which progress toward postwar settlements is recorded obviates any doubt that the US, having been a participant in the war, inevitably had become involved in world politics. At the same time, the study makes clear that, until terms of the general peace had been agreed upon at Versailles, there was no occasion for the United States to have brought forward the Turkish situation, inasmuch as the US and Turkey had not been formally at war. One of the main contributions of the book is the evidence adduced showing that whereas United States freedom of action under strong Wilsonian leadership was a fortunate circumstance during the negotiations leading to the Versailles Treaty, it was subsequently no less a handicap to the international standing of the US under an *indifferent administration in dealing with victorious European powers disposed to seek territorial compensation in the defunct Ottoman Empire by way of settling issues in the Near and Middle East.*

Much of this volume is not likely to hold the interest of the general reader for long. It has much to offer the specialist, however, and for the graduate student it can serve as a prime example of original historical research. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the book as presented by the publisher to the public has not been improved for any reader by the inclusion of ten pages listing "The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" accompanied by an invitation to all to subscribe to the series.

American University

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

LA DÉCOLONISATION, 1919-1963. By *Henri Grimal*. [Collection U, Series "Histoire contemporaine."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 407.)

PRIMARILY directed to French university students, this book is couched in the form of a textbook and, in addition to providing a few useful documentary selections, makes use of boldface type, italics, indented paragraphs in smaller type, and other devices that may help the student. But aside from these distractions the book stands on its own as a synthesis that succeeds very well in laying the salient facts of the decolonization movement, country by country, before the general reader. In spite of some deficiencies this is the best attempt I have seen to encompass within a reasonable space almost all the former colonies that have won their independence. The major omissions are Malta, Cyprus, Jamaica, Trinidad, and the former Italian colonies.

The great strengths of the book lie in M. Grimal's understanding of the relation between the domestic policies of the European colonial powers and the policies they adopted in their colonies, and of the discrepancy between policies and laws intended to be applied to the colonies and the actual practices in them. This is true not only of France, to whose colonies he devotes almost as many pages as to those of all the other colonies combined, but of Belgium and the Netherlands. He is also especially good on the growth of nationalism in the interwar period, which is too often neglected because little came of these efforts at the time except in Britain's Asian territories. His long section on the varied effects of World War II is original and interesting, although, in my view, he is inclined here and throughout the book to exaggerate the influence of the United Nations and does not fortify his opinions with examples (perhaps because they do not exist).

Grimal does not appear to have studied the British colonies as thoroughly as those of the continental powers; nor does he subject the British system to the kind of close analysis he gives to the continental ones. The section on British Africa is adequate except for Uganda, whose complex politics he misinterprets. He underestimates the role of the Indian princes in the crucial period between the two wars, and the sections on Burma and Malaya likewise suffer from oversimplification. He ascribes an improbable reason for the murder of Aung San, which does more justice to his murderer than other authorities have suggested, and he has confused Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, with the king of the same name in such a way as to make it appear that the Tunku became king after independence.

But these are small blemishes in such a comprehensive work, so much of which is excellent. They could easily be corrected when a new edition is needed, as it surely will be if the university students for whom it is intended embrace it as they should.

Tucson, Arizona

STEWART C. EASTON

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1919-1943: DOCUMENTS. Volume III, 1929-1943. Selected and edited by *Jane Degras*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 494. \$14.40.)

SINCE Alexander Dallin reviewed the first volume of this collection (*AHR*, LXII [Oct. 1956], 176) and noted "a large gap" in our knowledge about the Comin-

tern and related matters, things have materially improved. We now have numerous studies of the Comintern, international Communism, and Soviet foreign policy, histories of most of the important national Communist parties illuminating Comintern activities, and thoroughgoing bibliographies. The most comprehensive of these, *Soviet Foreign Relations and World Communism: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of 7,000 Books in 30 Languages* (second printing with additions, 1966), and the bibliographies it lists reflect a huge body of sources available to the researcher. Even the Comintern archives at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, which remain closed to critical students, are beginning to yield data and documents through Soviet historical monographs and journals.

No collection limited to the efforts of one compiler and the space of three volumes could, of course, do justice to such a mine. As in the first two volumes, the compiler presents only key pieces of the external record. Missing are some significant pieces of the external record and all of the internal record as well as personal accounts and revelations, contemporary newspaper reports, and so forth. The compiler has sought to compensate for this by furnishing extensive prefaces to each document to provide essential context. Nonetheless, if one reads only these documents and prefaces, much remains obscure.

Within these limitations, the compiler has produced a collection that serves the useful purpose of making accessible, for reference and instruction, many essential policy statements of the Comintern. Testimony to its value is furnished by the vituperative reviews that its first two volumes evoked in the Soviet Union, the bibliographic article on the Comintern by K. S. Trofimov in *Voprosy istorii KPSS* (No. 9, 1963), which lists what is acceptable from the Soviet point of view and reveals no adequate Soviet publication of sources, and the Soviet decision to publish an authoritative collection of Comintern materials in two volumes. It is hoped that the Royal Institute of International Affairs will continue to sponsor such collections and produce one for the essential policy statements of the Cominform.

San Fernando Valley State College

MARIN PUNDEFF

Ancient and Medieval

ANCIENT EUROPE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF AGRICULTURE TO CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY: A SURVEY. By *Stuart Piggott*. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 343. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Piggott is well known for his many contributions to European prehistory. In this, his latest book, he offers "an individual prehistorian's view of what seem to him the salient and significant factors of the period and area under review. . . ." Piggott carefully points out that the book is an "essay in interpretation" and not a comprehensive review of European prehistory. Herein lie its merits and its greatest shortcomings. In outlining what he believes to be the main-streams of European prehistory, the author is forced into a selectivity of ma-

terial, and subsequent omission of archaeological cultures, which appears to distort and oversimplify the complexities of European prehistory.

The period covered stretches roughly from 10,000 B.C. to the Christian Era. Piggott challenges and discredits the validity of ordering archaeological data into a rigid system of chronological stages defined by the presence of certain traits. Thus, the Neolithic period has been defined by the presence of such combined traits or characteristics as the domestication of plants and animals, pottery, sedentism, and architecture. These do not always appear in the same combination, however.

Piggott approaches the early periods of European prehistory by pointing to the environmental changes and ecological adaptations that man faced following the withdrawal of the ice sheets during the post-Pleistocene. Having discussed the evidence for the discovery of animal and plant domestication, an event believed to have taken place in Western Asia, Piggott discusses the Neolithic communities in Europe. Here the author's selectivity of what he considers to be the salient factors is so compressed as almost to distort the entire picture of the European Neolithic. Piggott concentrates almost entirely on the significant area around the Balkans and Central Europe. He points out the interconnections between these developing areas, which he refers to as a "nuclear area," and that of the Near East, where Neolithic advances had already been in evidence for over a thousand years. A short discussion of the complex distribution and relationships of the megalithic monuments is also succinctly related. But what of the Ertebolle (and earlier Northern European mesolithic), Trichterbecher, Chiozza, and Michelsberg cultures? In fact the entire Western European Primary Neolithic is hardly alluded to, leading us to conclude, incorrectly, that these cultures played no role in the mainstream of European prehistory. Certainly this is a misleading oversimplification. Similarly, in dealing with that area which Piggott handles best, the "nuclear area" of Eastern Europe, the relationships between the cultures he discusses remain unclear.

Piggott next discusses the consolidation of European cultures during the Bronze Age. The main events take such precedence in the narrative that regional developments are either too briefly noted or totally ignored. It is also difficult to follow Piggott's review of the Bronze Age chronologically. Clearly, he has abandoned the chronological systems of Montelius, Reinecke, and others, but he has not suggested a replacement. This makes it rather difficult for the uninitiated to follow the general development of Bronze Age cultures, for it does not hang on a cohesive chronology. The book concludes with an excellent review of the Celtic world and its aftermath.

I have pointed out above the basic shortcomings of Piggott's book, but this may be misleading, for there are great benefits for the scholarly as well as the general reader. As an interpretive essay it discusses clearly and succinctly the events that the author views as of primary importance in European prehistory, and the book is lavishly illustrated. Finally, Piggott has provided the reader with a most valuable bibliography. Although the book will not serve the specialist as a much-needed comprehensive review of European prehistory, it is a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject.

Harvard University

C. C. LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY

ANCIENT CRETE: A SOCIAL HISTORY. FROM EARLY TIMES UNTIL THE ROMAN OCCUPATION. By R. F. Willetts. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 197. \$5.75.)

THIS could have been an exciting book. Not all parts of the Greek world followed the Athenian pattern; the Cretan communities, in particular, seem earlier to have been among the most progressive Greek states, but in the classic era formed a relatively static backwater. Why should this be so? And what can we discover about earlier conditions from Cretan conservatism? Willetts suggests that we see his subject in these terms; unfortunately, he himself makes no serious effort to provide significant answers in this running survey of economic, political, social, and religious conditions on the island. The book, apparently prepared on command, is dreary in style; anyone seeking a picture of what we do know about Cretan society should turn to the author's fundamental *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (1955).

Much as one would encourage attempts to communicate to the beginning student, this is not a work to be set lightly before a tyro, who may be unable to sense the author's prejudices and specific point of view. While refusing to credit translation of Linear B even on general lines, Willetts easily accepts the dubious arguments of heavy Near Eastern influences on Crete via Ugarit. More significantly, he draws a strange picture of the Greek city-state: "war and slavery were essential conditions for the existence of the city-state"; or, again, "the central feature of the whole process of development of the city-states is the growth of commodity production." The bibliography is extensive, but the relevance of all its items to the subject does not appear. Although he cites studies of 1964, Willetts omits Emmett L. Bennett's valuable "On the Use and Misuse of the Term 'Priest-King' in Minoan Studies" (*Kretika Chronika* [1963], 327-35).

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

KOINE EIRENE: GENERAL PEACE AND LOCAL INDEPENDENCE IN ANCIENT GREECE. By T. T. B. Ryder. (New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull. 1965. Pp. xvii, 184. \$6.75.)

THE subtitle of this book is rather deceptive and pretentious; I suspect that it was added by the publisher, not the author. Instead of "General Peace," it should read "Common Peace," the translation of the Greek of its title. This is the term Ryder uses throughout, and this is what the book is about—that particular type of treaty in the fourth century B.C. that guaranteed to all the Greeks freedom and autonomy. It is an excellent account of these agreements, and there was no reason to try to hide this under a vaguer title. After a brief summary of the idea of autonomy in the fifth century, Ryder analyzes in detail all the treaties from the King's Peace in 387 to the compact signed by the Diadochi in 311. He finds that seven of these qualify as Common Peace. In 387 the Persian king in effect guaranteed the freedom and autonomy of those Greeks who were not, in return, handed over to him. In 375 this was reaffirmed, with a further stipulation that no garrisons be maintained. In 371 there were two such treaties, before and after Leuctra; the second of these for the first time made it obligatory for the signa-

tories to come to the aid of one another when attacked. In 362–361 another advance was made by demanding demobilization and arbitration of disputes. But it was not until 338, in the peace imposed by Philip of Macedon, that a competent body, the Synedrion, was set up to make the necessary decisions. The final Common Peace, in 311, was merely an extension to all the Greeks of an agreement of Antigonos, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy.

There is no doubt but that Ryder is at home in the fourth century and is intimately acquainted with the sources and bibliography. He faces up to all the problems; consequently one third of the book consists of fourteen appendixes, elaborating on chronological cruxes and all the peace treaties and proposals of the century. The longest and most important of these examines the settlement of 338/337 and concludes that the “so-called” League of Corinth was not an alliance but only an offshoot of the Common Peace.

Ryder’s conclusions are quite reasonable and cautious. He admits that the idea of Common Peace had little or no idealistic support throughout the century and recognizes that it was used by great powers, both Greek and foreign, to further their own selfish ends. Although there may be some validity to his suggestion that Common Peace “may constitute one of the themes around which the complicated history of Greek interstate politics in that century can best be understood,” one must be on his guard lest the very approach put too much emphasis on an idea that has much more appeal in the twentieth century than it had in the fourth century B.C.

University of Cincinnati

DONALD W. BRADEEN

DIADEM UND KÖNIGSHERRSCHAFT: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU ZEREMONIEN UND RECHTSGRUNDLAGEN DES HERRSCHAFTS-ANTRITTS BEI DEN PERSERN, BEI ALEXANDER DEM GROSSEN UND IM HELLENISMUS. By *Hans-Werner Ritter*. [Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Number 7.] (Munich: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. xiv, 191. DM 26.)

WITH great thoroughness and admirable scholarship, Herr Ritter has investigated an interesting example of symbolism in politics in Greek history. He is concerned with the use of the diadem, a Median fillet that was worn by the kings of Persia and adopted by Alexander and his successors. As King of Kings by right of conquest, Alexander used the diadem to demonstrate his overlordship of Asia, but characteristically he wore it wound around his broad-brimmed Macedonian hat—a practice that was continued by the kings of Macedon and the Greek rulers of Bactria. In the struggles of the Diadochi, Antigonos and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes wore the diadem to bolster their claim of universal rule over Asia. However, the separatist kings, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, had no such grandiose aims, and their use of the diadem merely connoted rule over a limited area. By the time of the Epigoni the assumption of the diadem had lost its original significance and had become only a recognized symbol of royal status.

The sources for this development are the confused Alexandrian traditions and the chance fragments of Hellenistic writers, and Ritter works his way through

the morass with agility. His book has, unfortunately, the vices as well as the merits of a rewritten dissertation, and Ritter has added a skimpy forty-page account of the later Hellenistic uses of the diadem in the major monarchies and even in the lesser kingdoms (Bithynia, Armenia, Judaea, and others). He disclaims any completeness for the last section which dissolves into bibliographical references, but the reader would appreciate a fuller discussion of these matters. Particularly tantalizing are his notes on the relation between Jesus and other Judean "Usurpationen der Königswürde durch Leute aus dem Volk," as well as the implications of the mock king episode at Alexandria during Herod Agrippa's ill-timed visit to the city. Had he expanded the last section, Ritter would surely not have labeled Zenobia's use of the diadem as a Palmyrene custom, for it was connected with her claim of Ptolemaic descent and her hopes to become empress of Asia.

For those who are interested in the diadem, Ritter has produced a most useful (though incomplete) book. Yet, one wonders how far the frontiers of knowledge are really extended by studies such as this very competent monograph. Is there not more significance in the poet's insight: "Within the hollow crown / That rounds the mortal temples of a king / Keeps Death his court"? This question casts no reflection on Ritter but on the historical profession and its habits.

University of Southern California

THOMAS W. AFRICA

ROME OF THE CAESARS. By *Thomas W. Africa*. [New Dimensions in History, Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. xiii, 254. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.95.)

"The vitality and major themes of Roman life are well reflected in the lives of individuals who were drawn to the capital. To mirror the times, a selection of representative Romans may suffice. . . . The political history of the era is provided for continuity and background. . . . It is hoped that modern readers will find interpretations of the men of the imperial era more meaningful than improbable anecdotes about the mad, bad Caesars."

A description of the city of Rome precedes, and a very brief epilogue on the Severan triumph follows, a collection of eleven essays on individual personalities. They are an interesting group, spanning almost two hundred years: Sejanus, Herod Agrippa, Paul, Seneca, Josephus, Apollonius, Pliny, Tacitus, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Galen. Not all the sketches are exclusive to their respective subjects; for example, Apollonius brings Alexander of Abonoteichos in his train, and Hadrian evokes comment on Aristides, Peregrinus, Plutarch, and Celsus. There are illustrations, mostly coin portraits of emperors (Augustus and Tiberius appear each under the other's name), and two maps; appendixes on sources and problems, on a Syriac view of Galen, and of genealogical charts, a brief list of recommended readings, and an index. All the essays generously contain excerpts from the sources; the translations, with a small exception or two, are good.

For the lay, general reader, presumably the intended audience, this is a nice little book, interesting, suggestive, stimulating, informative, not greatly disturbing of his ideas of the Roman Empire. "The political history . . . provided" will prob-

ably be adequate "for continuity and background" if the reader already knows something about the Empire. (The emperors, as they come and go in the background, remain pretty much "the mad, bad Caesars"; and the author's most favorite word seems to be "despot.") For the serious student of the Empire, the book will probably furnish little, except a valuable stimulus and invitation to pursue some interesting bypaths which he might otherwise overlook.

I could not but be reminded of the late M. P. Charlesworth's *Five Men*, the Martin Classical Lectures delivered at Oberlin in 1935. Charlesworth and Africa have in common two subjects and a third title: Agrippa I was "The Native Ruler," is now "The Opportunist"; Josephus, "The Adventurer," has become "The Jew" (in the preface, "the Jewish apologist"); Charlesworth's "The Philosopher" was Musonius Rufus, but is here Marcus Aurelius. Charlesworth's essays exhibited his enormous erudition, brilliant scholarship, imaginative discernment, and superlative charm of wit and humor. These qualities the present author can hardly match; his reader would richly profit from perusal also of *Five Men*.

Duke University

ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS

THE EARLY GERMANS. By *E. A. Thompson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 161. \$3.40.)

THIS modest book is not to be compared with the author's volumes on Ammianus Marcellinus and Attila, nor with such fundamental studies of German origins as those of Eduard Norden. It avoids bibliography and is based solely on the texts. The author regards it primarily as a guide to Tacitus, but he begins with Caesar and ends with the fourth century, occasionally including even later evidence. His object is to recover the picture of the "eternal German," essentially the same in all periods, although he views him not as static and unchanging but rather as undergoing the same development, person by person and tribe by tribe. And since the Germans appear in our sources mainly in connection with events of Roman history, there is much on Roman frontier policy and military activity here, too. In the last area the Romans always had an immense advantage in discipline and the quality of their weapons, provided only that they were properly led.

The last of the four chapters, "Early Germanic Warfare," is reprinted from an article that appeared in 1958. The other three describe the Germans in the times of Caesar and Tacitus, respectively, and the nature of Roman frontier policy toward them. The two former prepare the way for the last. The pastoral and hunting society of the earlier time, which employed a unified command only during emergencies, was gradually replaced by a society based on progressively more powerful warlords with their *comitatus*—armed retainers who lived with them on booty or other possible revenue, frequently Roman subsidies. While a warlord who acquired substantial power might be a threat to the frontier, he could also compel the tribesmen to keep the peace. Such a role was not always popular at home. The patriotic (in the sense of anti-Roman) Arminius was killed by his own kinsmen, and Marbo ended his life as a Roman guest, a refugee from the people whom he had united.

This is an interesting picture that does much to clarify Roman frontier policy in the north and east. Incidentally, the classical historian who has difficulty tracing the tribes over the years will be heartened to learn that he has some justification. Tribes waxed and waned in their importance, and the prominent names are constantly shifting, usually for unknown reasons, but often because of tribal instability and the accident of tribal nomenclature. Every student of the Roman Empire will want to read this book; it clarifies much that is usually left obscure.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

AUGUSTUS AND THE GREEK WORLD. By *G. W. Bowersock*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 176. \$4.80.)

THIS book provides the reader with further evidence of Octavian's mastery of Roman statecraft, this time in the realm of East-West relationships. The author presents as his principal theme the consolidation of the Greco-Roman world under Augustus. By the close of the last century B.C. this process had long been under way. A split between East and West was threatened under Antony, but the Battle of Actium postponed it for three centuries. Augustus reverted to republican practices and thus established a continuity of policy, which, the author feels, at least helps to explain the subsequent growth and consolidation of the Empire. Indeed, the continuity that Octavian restored to Roman policy in the East underlies the Greek renaissance of the second century.

Before discussing the various aspects of Rome's relationship to the Greek East under the principate, it is necessary to consider the late republican background of this problem. Thus the first chapter serves as an introduction to the problem of the origin and nature of Rome's Eastern policies.

Under the late Republic the pattern of Augustus' arrangements in the East had already been established on the patron-client relationship. In this system lay the secret of Roman rule in the East. The Greek world was thrown into confusion during the Civil Wars, however, since the clients were forced to choose sides and thus often to accept a new patron. This confusion only ended with the establishment of the principate, which meant the introduction of dynastic rule. This modification in the republican diplomatic system promised to ensure its efficient operation in the future. In restoring stability to the Empire Augustus found every principle of his policy in the East already tried and proven. The only new element introduced by Augustus was the dynastic element; what started out as the cult of Augustus became the cult of the dynastic house and an extension of Rome's diplomatic system. Since cults were expensive to maintain, the responsibility for this fell to the members of the philo-Roman aristocracy of the East. From the evidence the author concludes that the principate did not receive the support of the Empire at large, and yet intercourse between East and West continued to promote imperial unity. This ever-growing unity between the two halves of the Empire gave the educated Roman a Hellenic veneer and left Greek literary production mainly preoccupied with politics and history.

The author brings to his subject thorough and sound scholarship, and he has produced a work important not only for a deeper understanding of the principate

of Augustus, but also for its valuable contribution to the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines.

University of South Carolina

RICHARD H. CHOWEN

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN, A.D. 43-57. By *Donald R. Dudley* and *Graham Webster*. [British Battles Series.] ([Chester Springs, Pa.:] Dufour Editions. 1965. Pp. 216. \$6.00.)

THE authors of this book confess some misgivings about its appropriateness as a volume in Dufour's series on British battles—not because the Roman conquest of Britain is not important or because Caractacus, Aulus Plautius, and Ostorius Scapula are less notable commanders than such modern figures as Botha and Kitchner, but because the evidence for the Claudian invasion is so unsatisfactory. Before discussing strategy and tactics, the historian must delve into archaeology, topography, and textual criticism; for only by using all available means to supplement the scanty and often vague accounts of Tacitus and Dio Cassius is it possible to write a comprehensible story of the military operations.

The book begins with a brief survey of the situation on the eve of the invasion: the Roman army, its weapons and methods of fighting; Celtic political and military institutions; and a glance back at Caesar's British campaigns and the lessons that both sides might have learned from them. Later chapters describe the invasion itself and the overthrow of the Belgic kingdom in southeast Britain; the creation of the new province and the problem of its frontiers; the campaigns in Wales; and the war against the Silures and Brigantes. The story ends there. There is nothing on the revolt of Boudicca or the operations under Agricola, but the same writers have covered the former in a previous book (*The Rebellion of Boudicca* [1962]). These two works together treat essentially the same subject as Leonard Cottrell's *The Great Invasion* (1958), on which Graham Webster served as a consultant. Cottrell's book is more popularized. Written for readers who know almost nothing about Roman history, it explains many things that authors of a more scholarly work assume to be common knowledge. Dudley and Webster write with somewhat less verve, but they perhaps give the reader a better understanding of Roman fighting techniques, especially of the grim efficiency of Roman artillery, which one governor of Britain, Julius Frontinus, considered as admitting of no further improvement. Neither in siege warfare nor in open battle could the Britons hope to match their adversaries, but the land was well suited to guerrilla tactics, as Caractacus demonstrated clearly. In the end, Rome's success was due as much to diplomacy as to arms.

A book published so soon after Cottrell's cannot be expected to change the picture very much, but archaeological information accumulates fast in Britain, and our own experience continually increases our understanding of the problems of the past. In the 1930's Collingwood simply could not believe the statement of Suetonius that Nero seriously considered abandoning Britain to the barbarians. Today few would question it; we are more likely to be surprised that the Romans had the nerve to stick it out.

University of Louisville

LAURENCE LEE HOWE

THE FRONTIER PEOPLE OF ROMAN BRITAIN. By *Peter Salway*. [Cambridge Classical Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 286, 8 plates. \$11.50.)

THE title of this work is misleading, for the scope of the book is not so broad. It is an account of the Romanized civilian population of the *vici*, communities outside the frontier forts; it is not an account of the Roman troops or of the native tribes. Following his introductory chapter, Salway surveys in a second chapter the population of the *vici*, their nationality, their religion, and their status. The title of the third chapter, "The Civilian in His Setting," is misleading; it is little more than a listing of each site with a detailed record of the remains uncovered. Placing this chapter in the middle of the book causes difficulties for the reader. There are frequent references to types of structures, such as "strip-houses" and *mansiones*, but these are not fully defined until the fourth chapter. Chapter III should follow Chapter IV, or, better, should be relegated to an appendix. The fifth chapter is an attempt to work out the legal status of the *vici* and its inhabitants and of the entire frontier region. In addition to the five chapters, the book contains maps and plans, plates, and an appendix. The appendix, giving the texts of inscriptions relating to civilians, attests to the author's scholarship.

Salway writes that his book is "a study of the processes and products of Romanization, of the impact of Rome on the British frontier region and the place of the Roman civilian in that area." He has used all the available sources, from reports of early antiquaries to aerial photographs. The result is impressive, yet one learns little about the process of Romanization. This is partly owing to the lack of sources and partly to the author's selection of audience. He is writing for the specialist who is already familiar with Roman provincial life.

Salway does force new views of some subjects. His discussion of the constitutional status of the frontier territories is useful, even though he admits that much is still to be learned. Since his chief concern is with civilians, it is surprising that some of his most interesting statements are about the army. He has a new view of Septimius Severus' military reforms. Instead of considering them as simply spoiling the army, he sees them strengthening the Empire's defenses, giving the frontier troops a greater stake in protecting their homes. Salway rejects another traditional view of the army in the later Empire, the view that the fourth-century frontier troops were all peasant-soldiers. He finds that the British frontier was manned by regular units until 367.

Florida State University

RALPH V. TURNER

ART FORMS AND CIVIC LIFE IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *H. P. L'Orange*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. 131. \$5.00.)

THIS English translation of Professor L'Orange's *Fra Principat til Dominat*, published in Norwegian in 1958, offers stimulating interpretations not only to the student of late Roman art but also to the historian of the late Empire and to the intellectual historian concerned with the expression of the ethos of a society in its art. The Roman historian will find in the first chapter of the second part a brief

but penetrating analysis of Diocletian's concepts in his reforms. He sought to cure the confusion, disorder, and disintegration which, during the crisis of the third century, engulfed the individualized and flexible society of the early Empire. To do so, he imposed on society and government a schematized totalitarianism that was immobile, orderly, and centralized. The whole scheme pointed up to and concentrated on the divine Tetrarchs, so stylized as to be interchangeable either in authority or in artistic representation. Thus Constantine had no trouble in substituting one divine emperor for Diocletian's Tetrarchs. The intellectual historian will find in the first three short chapters that the development of Roman art reflects the change in Roman civic and spiritual life from the organic and autonomous expression of the individual, found in classical Greece, to a generalized program where individual parts became more and more subordinated until they were indifferent. For the historian of art, the second chapter of Part II uses L'Orange's previous studies in late antique art to show how, under Diocletian and Constantine, sculpture, mosaics, and architecture expressed the concept of a static, monolithic, and hierarchical state. The sixty-seven figures are admirably integrated throughout the discussion.

To paraphrase the conclusion, the basic characteristics of the structural transition from the principate to the dominate were two: massive simplification and mechanical crystallization. In society, politics, art, thought, and religion, individual articulations disappeared into immobile blocklike frameworks. There was movement away from the complex toward the simple, from the mobile toward the static, from the dialectic and relative toward the dogmatic and authoritarian. Late antiquity directed its gaze from the transitoriness of mundane things to a transcendent world of unchanging types and eternal orders. It is as if in this period of metamorphosis from antiquity to the Middle Ages, every aspect of life withdrew into a protective shell of massive blocks and rigid systems, just as the Empire enclosed itself within what it hoped, falsely, would be an unbreakable system of fortifications. Perhaps, suggests L'Orange in his final sentence, the seed of classical culture could not have survived the overwhelming tide of barbarism to fructify in later centuries without this firm, protective shell.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

DISSENT AND REFORM IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By *Jeffrey Burton Russell*. [Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Number 1.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. 323. \$6.95.)

ONE of the more elusive, and yet fundamentally important, aspects of the religious history of the early Middle Ages is the role of the large mass of persons of lowly status, clerical as well as lay. Although paucity of precise sources precludes anything but a blurred picture of the activities of such people, recent research has clarified certain things. It has become increasingly evident, for example, that various forms of religious dissent, including formal heresy, appeared earlier and were more prevalent than had hitherto been understood. The author of this book, who has already made significant contributions along these lines, presents here an analysis of the various manifestations of religious dissent from the eighth to the

mid-twelfth century. The terminal date has been chosen to coincide with the first appearance in the West of a dualist heresy that can be demonstrated to have come from the East. Thus he is examining movements of Western provenance.

Although the primary sources are often disappointingly inconclusive and medieval writers occasionally use the term "heresy" without discrimination, there is sufficient evidence to warrant investigation. Consequently, the monographic literature is considerable. Professor Russell has skillfully handled both kinds of material. He presents possible alternative conclusions in addition to explaining the reasoning that underlies his own. Two especially important areas of discussion may be mentioned here. Historians of the socioeconomic school have tended to link early medieval dissent with movements of social unrest. Russell feels that this interpretation is incorrect: first, he demonstrates that considerable dissent is evident before the major socioeconomic disturbances of the eleventh century; second, and perhaps more important, is his judgment that even though the major areas of dissent were in economically advanced Northwestern Europe and in Italy, no evidence justifies assuming a causal connection. Rather, these manifestations are to be understood as phenomena associated with the Great Reform. There has also been a tendency to assume that certain heretical movements before the twelfth century were dualist in nature. Russell insists that these, too, are more correctly traceable to the same broad movement of ecclesiastical reform.

All forms of dissent are examined and classified for better analysis. And in the classification of certain dissenters there is material for the continuing debate on the revolutionary character of the Great Reform. Occasionally judgments are suggested regarding the suppression of heresy in the Middle Ages, but the reader is never left in doubt when the author is examining evidence and when he is presenting opinion. Russell's own understanding of the total character of medieval Christianity, moreover, is surely relevant to his estimate of the character of medieval dissent.

This significant contribution to our knowledge of early medieval civilization is an auspicious "first" for the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

New York University

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN FRENCH AND CATALAN SOCIETY, 718-1050. By *Archibald R. Lewis*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 471. \$8.00.)

PROFESSOR Lewis has written a book of great importance, one that illuminates not only the social, religious, and political structure of southern France and Catalonia, but also the nature of all French development in the pre-Capetian period. It will force historians to reappraise their understanding of the whole process of change in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

In outline, Lewis' story is simple enough and relatively familiar. In the eighth century the Carolingian conquest imposed Frankish forms of government on the region, but these rapidly tended to disappear in the breakup of the Empire at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries. Great particularism resulted, reinforced in the tenth century by the rapid spread of castles, and it is only in the mid-eleventh century that one begins to discern the emergence of coherent

and relatively stable territorial principalities in Aquitaine, Toulouse, and Catalonia.

The surprises are to be found in the details. That the *Midi* retained alodial land long after the north had been feudalized has long been appreciated, but the extent to which this was the case is startling. After analyzing literally thousands of land transfers Lewis conclusively demonstrates that in the period 900–975 only 4 per cent of the land transferred was feudal in character, while this figure rises no higher than 7 per cent in the period 975–1050. All other transfers appear to have been largely alodial.

Given these facts, it is hardly surprising that feudalism never established deep roots in the south or that territorial governments were difficult to establish. Political power devolved on a host of petty *principes*, and total anarchy was only prevented by the extralegal creation of *ad hoc* assemblies made up of notables in a region anxious to settle their differences peacefully. Also striking is the obvious vitality of southern France and Catalonia throughout the period. Certain areas were of course devastated by Muslim and Viking incursions in the ninth and early tenth centuries, but even in the darkest days there still remained regions where new land was being cleared and settled.

Contrary to generally accepted views, Lewis presents a Church that never entirely lost its expansive drive and discipline, one that in the tenth century established numerous monasteries and other centers of the religious life. Only at the end of the tenth century and in the eleventh, when control of the Church by the castle-owning aristocracy began to take the form of a rather unpleasant domination, was the scene set for the reform program of Gregory VII. The evidence for these views is convincing. In short, this book is bound to cause a profound alteration in our treatment of medieval France.

A few caveats and suggestions are, however, in order. This is not an easy book to read: its detail is one source of its strength, but the details are ultimately overwhelming. Lastly, the legal problems associated with the prevalence of alodial property need much further study. We may never fully unravel the legal complexities arising from the confluence of different cultures in Catalonia and the *Midi*, but more can be done. Indeed, had Lewis utilized J. M. Wallace-Hadrill's *Long-Haired Kings*, one suspects he would have delved further into the subject.

Dartmouth College

CHARLES T. WOOD

DEUTSCHE KÖNIGSPFALZEN: BEITRÄGE ZU IHRER HISTORISCHEN UND ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN ERFORSCHUNG. Volume II. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 11, Part 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1965. Pp. vi, 318. DM 58.)

In this collection of sixteen articles Adolf Gauert, author of three of them, ably summarizes the characteristics of the German royal *Pfalzen*, as far as we can determine them from both archaeological and written remains ("Zur Struktur und Topographie der Königspfalzen"). The words *palatium*, *villa*, *curtis*, *castrum*, *castellum*, and *civitas* all appear in the documents of the ninth to the eleventh century to designate what is called *Pfalz* in German. It was even common for one

and the same structure to be designated by two or three of these terms inasmuch as the *Pfalz* was a complex of various elements.

M. I. Finley of Cambridge has recently taken the position that written documents, when available in any abundance, take precedence over archaeological remains. ("Must We Dig?" *New York Review of Books*, Feb. 17, 1966): "Archaeological remains still make their contribution, but to correct, refine, and enlarge upon the information given in the writings." This point of view is given support by Gauert, who states that where both written and archaeological remains are available for the same *Pfalz*, more precise information is to be gained from the former than was previously assumed.

The particular *Pfalzen* under discussion in this volume are Grone, Werla, and Pöhlde in Saxony and Tilleda in Thuringia. All sixteen articles display enough documentation so that anyone unfamiliar with the subject can easily find his way into the scholarship. In addition to the studies of excavation and textual evidence concerning the *Pfalzen*, there are two articles on place names and one each on soil composition and early vegetation in the vicinity of Grone. It is interesting that even archaeology did not remain unaffected during the Nazi period, for in 1943, as Sabine Krüger points out in "Einige Bemerkungen zur Werla-Forschung," the *Burgenbau* of Henry I was compared to the *Bunkerbau* of the Third Reich.

The topographical drawings are well done, and the foldout color plans of the major *Pfalzen* are particularly handsome. Unfortunately, there is no index, though there is a key to the illustrations, listed alphabetically by place.

University of Colorado

BOYD H. HILL, JR.

VIKING FORTRESSES OF THE TRELLEBORG TYPE. By *Sidney L. Cohen*. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. 1965. Pp. 103, 22 plates. D. kr. 29.)

THIS volume represents a full and scholarly examination of certain Viking fortresses of the Trelleborg type built and occupied during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Denmark. Previously scholars have believed that these fortresses were built at the time of Sweyn Forkbeard for the mustering of his army used to attack England. Professor Cohen shows rather conclusively that they were instead originally built as religious centers, probably honoring Thor, and that they are similar to certain other cult centers found in northern Germany and as far to the east as Kievan Russia. As for the occupation of these fortresses for military purposes, Cohen argues that they probably were not put to such use until the time of Canute, and thus cannot prove the special character of Sweyn's armies that invaded England.

The author is to be congratulated on his wise use of archaeological, numismatic, and other evidence to buttress his arguments and on the wide-ranging nature of his inquiry. It should be noted, however, that one can still argue from other evidence that Sweyn's armies differed from those of the great Danish invasion force of 865-878, without depending upon data based on a military use of such fortresses. Sweyn's armed forces do seem from other evidence in part to be a national levy, as Cohen himself admits. What he has made clear is that Scandinavia needs to be studied in a broad Northern European context in

which supposed differences between Teutonic and Slavic and Celtic peoples and their cultures seem less important than some historians have assumed.

University of Texas

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

DE ONUITGEGEVEN OORKONDEN VAN DE SINT-SALVATORSABDIJ
TE ENAME VOOR 1200. By *Ludo Milis*. [Verzameling van onuitgegeven
Belgische Kronieken en van onuitgegeven Documenten betreffende de Ge-
schiedenis van België, Number 61.] (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van
België, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis. 1965. Pp. 1, 88.)

In the eleventh century no area of Western Europe saw the foundation of more monasteries than Flanders. Although few attained the prominence of the more renowned monasteries of Europe, they contributed to the cultural and economic development of Flanders and testified to the spiritual regeneration wrought in the Low Countries by Gérard of Brogne.

Typical of the Benedictine monasteries was Saint-Sauveur established in 1063 at Ename near Audenarde through the generosity of Count Baldwin V and his wife. The monk Walbrecht from the monastery of Saint-Vaast at Arras became the first abbot with jurisdiction over twelve monks. Primarily important for the history of medieval Flanders because it developed the rich lands along the Schelde River, Saint-Sauveur was characteristic of the monasteries that undertook vast land reclamation in Flanders during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The principal source for Saint-Sauveur has been the chartulary edited in 1881 by Charles Piot, who included a few original charters, but contented himself mostly with editing material contained in a later chartulary. As a result of a study of the lands of Saint-Sauveur between 1063 and 1250, Ludo Milis has now presented us with 103 additional documents tracked down in the archives of Ghent, Brussels, Lille, and Paris.

In his introduction to this edition, which limits itself to the new documents, Milis skillfully delves into the monastic archives, the tradition of the texts, the dating, and the diplomatics of the earliest charters granted by the Count of Flanders. He has been able to redate some of the documents edited by Piot. Because Milis has worked with such care, it would now seem that all the documents relevant to the monastery of Saint-Sauveur of Ename have been uncovered and published. This edition justifies the imprimatur of the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium.

Brown University

BRYCE LYON

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION: SOURCES OF ENGLISH MEDIEVAL
HISTORY, 1066-1540. By *J. J. Bagley*. [Pelican Original.] (Baltimore: Pen-
guin Books. 1965. Pp. 285. \$1.65.)

THE dedication reads "To the many who have asked, 'How do we know?'" The pages that follow provide a stimulating answer that represents the best in medieval scholarship. This book is unique as an extended bibliographical essay linking together selections from sources chosen primarily to illuminate the nature of the sources themselves. The method is impressionistic rather than comprehensive;

nevertheless, a surprising amount of information is presented. No other book conveys so well the "feel" for the historical materials of this period and some of the problems they present to the historian.

It is something of a paradox that the book might be recommended either as an excellent introduction to the sources or as interesting and enjoyable reading in its own right. Interpolated explanations in quotations and a "no nonsense" glossary of technical terms make the book suitable for a wide range of readers. There are, however, certain weaknesses in chapter division by century, which breaks down in practice with some rather odd chronological transpositions: Matthew Paris is discussed with chronicles in the "Twelfth Century," and Henry II's survey of fiefs made in 1166 turns up in the "Thirteenth Century" with a similar survey taken in 1212.

Nevertheless, the most serious criticism is that having so well provided an introduction, and probably captured the reader's interest and imagination, Mr. Bagley makes it unduly difficult to take the next step. Many selections from the sources are cited so vaguely that it would be something of a chore to find their context. In fact, if the reader is to take a serious interest in the subject, he is left explicitly dependent upon *English Historical Documents*, edited by D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway. In a book devoted to the sources, with extremely brief bibliography, there is no mention of "The Oxford History of England" series, which has particularly good bibliographies, or of the *Guide to the Public Records*. Perhaps it is unrealistic to ask for more in a book of such obvious value that the reader is likely to finish by wondering why someone did not think of doing this before.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

THE RED BOOK OF THE EARLS OF KILDARE. Edited by G. Mac Niocaill. [Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na h-Éireann.] (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Commission. 1964. Pp. xix, 210. £2 5s.)

The Red Book, a chartulary of the Kildare Fitzgeralds, was compiled early in the sixteenth century, just as that family's long career passed apogee and tilted sharply downward. Appropriately the last document is dated 1519, the year when Garret Oge, ninth Earl and Lord Deputy of Ireland, went to London to answer charges of maladministration brought by his ambitious enemies. Fifteen years later his family was mired in catastrophe, and their Ireland, medieval Ireland, had begun to die its helplessly protracted death.

The more than two hundred documents, the earliest dating from about 1189, extend over nearly the whole of medieval Irish history. Many are of particular interest as illustrating the extraordinary tidal fluidity of Hiberno-Norman land claims and holdings and the tacitly acknowledged recovery by the native Irish of so much of their lost territories. Because the Fitzgeralds tended to have a fist, rather than a finger, in every Irish pie, *The Red Book*, though small, is unusually valuable. Many of the documents have of course been cited before, but now for the first time all are made available.

That is, the documents themselves are made available, clearly edited and printed *in extenso*. For what they contain the scholar will still have to depend

largely on his own powers of excavation. The edition provides a brief introduction, a scattering of textual notes, and a single, rather inadequate, all-purpose index. There are no historical notes, no genealogies, no discussion of doubtful surnames or place names, no map, no sign that either the editor or the Irish Manuscripts Commission thought the reader might have the slightest difficulty putting the material to instant use. Yet surely the editor, a good scholar, had amassed many notes while he was preparing the text and index. And surely the commission, which supported such a good edition of the *Dowdall Deeds* a few years ago, should not, for this more important work, have relapsed from the standard set then. For the exploration of medieval Ireland no fog-dispelling device known to scholarship comes amiss.

Harvard University

JOHN V. KELLEHER

DE OORKONDEN DER GRAVEN VAN VLAANDEREN (1191-AANVANG 1206). Part II, UITGAVE. Edited by *W. Prevenier*. [Verzameling van de akten der belgische vorsten, Number 5.] (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van België, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis. 1964. Pp. lxxv, 654, 32 plates. 940 fr. B.)

THIS beautifully printed collection of documents was prepared by Dr. Prevenier who has rigorously followed the editorial rules established by the commission in 1955. It is Volume II of a series of three works and is the first to appear. Later it will be supplemented by a *Diplomatische Inleiding* and by *Documentatie en Indices*. The documents collected here had their origin in the many centers that had any connection with the Flemish counts and are representative of traditional feudal routine as well as of exceptional political demands. The editor has provided the full manuscript history for each document, in some instances giving an elaborate tree to show relationship to a parent source. The selections are all in Latin, with the exception of one charter in French and a few excerpts in Greek in another.

To examine the 298 pieces in this volume leads one deeply into the lives of two Flemish counts who held strategic positions in the feudal-monarchical world at a critical period in the history of Western Europe. Knowing and being related to many of the great in the exciting Age of Philip Augustus, faced with crucial problems of maintaining and expanding their own prestige when faced by powerful and covetous enemies, these two men, especially Baldwin IX, played major roles in their time. They were no petty lords. One was a Count of Hainaut and Margrave of Namur when he added the title of Flanders to his claims; the other only Count of Hainaut as well as of Flanders, but he was to die as an emperor of Constantinople fighting against the Bulgarians.

Obviously the materials do not give the complete history of these two Baldwins, but they permit us to understand the complexities of their feudal lives. Their concern with Flemish questions naturally appears in the many references to grants made to religious establishments as well as to individuals, to the ever-pressing need to regulate tariffs, to the control of the comings and goings of merchants and lesser men; also to provisions for special fishing and port rights for a favored community, for the confirmation of forest holdings, and for the prohibition

against placing money *ad usuram*; to the need to confirm in 1198 the *keure* previously granted to Saint-Omer and a charter for holding a fair at Bruges. Treaties with Philip II and agreements with John of England move them to a wider plane. The documents attract added attention as they deal with Baldwin IX's participation in the Fourth Crusade.

The volume is enhanced by thirty-two plates containing seventy-eight reproductions of original manuscripts and seals. One regrets the necessity again to remark on the total inadequacy of the binding for this series, which is far too fragile for books of such dimensions. Fine scholarship, important content, printing and paper of highest quality deserve protective covering that does not fall apart with first use.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

A BARONIAL FAMILY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: THE CLARES, 1217-1314. By *Michael Altschul*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXIII (1965), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. 332. \$7.50.)

In this monograph Mr. Altschul has concentrated on the Clare family during the thirteenth century when its head, the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was both a wealthy and powerful English nobleman and an important marcher lord with extensive Irish estates. The Clares, relatives of Duke William, came with him to England and by the common route of royal favor and profitable marriages achieved the position they held until the partition of the estates on the death of the last male heir in the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. In the thirteenth century the Clares were leaders in the struggle to enforce Magna Carta, in the antiroyal movement of 1258, and in the Barons' War. The second Earl, in the 1258 struggle, was more interested in advancing his personal position than in promoting constitutional government. In the Barons' War, his son acted as a moderating force against the extremists on both sides, refusing to support Simon de Montfort when he thought the latter's regime no better than the King's. For all this activity, the real interest of the Clares lay in their marcher lands. As lords of Glamorgan they spent much of their time and energy in establishing their rights against the Welsh chieftains and in asserting their independence of the English crown.

Altschul is concerned to portray the Clares as a representative family and so to illustrate the life of the nobility in other than its political aspects. Younger sons, in positions in Church and state, were active in furthering family interests. The value of marriage rights is abundantly illustrated as is the usefulness of marriage in the acquisition of land and political power.

A study of the family's sources of wealth is hampered by inadequate records and by the shifting corpus of family possessions owing to marriages and deaths. Altschul has determined, nevertheless, that income came primarily from manorial rents, feudal and judicial payments, and the profits of boroughs. He estimates that, in the first half of the thirteenth century, next to the royal family, the Clares were the wealthiest family in England.

This study provides a many-sided and detailed picture of a baronial family

whose members, although holding considerable English estates and active in English affairs, regarded themselves primarily as marcher barons dependent on Welsh and Irish revenues for much of their wealth and position. The book is a valuable addition to the growing body of studies in depth of medieval English families and estates.

Princeton, New Jersey

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

ADEL UND VOLK IM FLORENTINER DUGENTO. By *Berthold Stahl*.

[Studi Italiani, herausgegeben vom Istituto Italiano di Cultura in Verbindung mit dem Petrarca-Institut an der Universität Köln, Number 8.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1965. Pp. 198. DM 22.)

THOUGHTFUL and well documented, this study from the seminar of Gerd Tellenbach presents an interpretation of the history of Florence between 1250 and 1300 in terms of the slow transformation of the *classe dirigeante*. The Ghibelline nobles of the *contado*, weakened by the decline of their natural allies, the German emperors, were gradually forced to take up residence in the city and ultimately merged with the urban nobility. The third element of the ruling oligarchy was composed of the opulent merchants and bankers of the *Calimala* or cloth guild, whose growing wealth had estranged them from the mass of the *popolo minuto*. No enduring unity was achieved within a governing elite so diverse in its origins, outlook, and interests. The constituent families continued to pursue their dynastic feuds and economic rivalries as passion or interest dictated. The ensuing public disorder was combated by the *popolo minuto* through the ordinances of 1293, which prescribed Draconian measures against disorderly magnates. The relaxation of the ordinances in 1295 was conceded by the *popolo minuto* as a means of disarming the hostility of the less intransigent members of the opposition and of establishing a partnership in power between the old oligarchs and the *novi homines*. The change in the composition of the ruling class was reflected at the military level in the assumption by prosperous guildsmen of knightly rank and functions.

The author perceives the same process of adjustment and compromise at work in the relations of Florence with the surrounding *contado*. The legal maxim "Stadtluft macht frei" prevailed in Florence, but only on condition that the former serf should have resided in the city for ten years without being reclaimed by his master. The stipulation affords some presumptive evidence against the arguments of Davidsohn and Salvemini, who contended that the city authorities encouraged the inflow of unfree persons. But the reaffirmation of the measure in 1325 suggests that the immigration had become sufficiently substantial in volume to require legislative action, and the author might well have indicated the pressures and counterpressures that engendered the enactment. Secondly, some examination of the military organization of the *contado*, admittedly an obscure and difficult subject, might have convinced the author that the seven substantial residents of Pasignano who performed knight service for Florence were not exceptional cases, but merely exemplified the Florentine policy of imposing cavalry service on subjects of sufficient means without regard to social rank. Otto of Freising had already observed in the mid-twelfth century the

readiness of the Italian city-states to raise men of low degree to knighthood in order to maintain a cavalry force strong enough to crush the resistance of rival territorial powers. In the case of Florence, its bitter and protracted conflict with Siena in the thirteenth century furnished an occasion to make fuller military use of the manpower of the *contado*. But in general the author has analyzed the changing social ingredients and policies of the ruling class in Florence with clarity and penetration. It is to be hoped that he will follow his present vein of investigation, originally opened up by Otokar and Plesner, into the fourteenth century.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

EUROPE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by J. R. Hale et al. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1965. Pp. 520. \$10.95.)

As the editors say, these essays are intended both to offer guidance to those who are interested in the later Middle Ages and to show "the nature of the interest which English scholars are taking in the history of late medieval Europe." They are at the same time a reflection of excellent scholarship by distinguished students of continental Europe in the later Middle Ages. Although economic history and the history of Eastern Europe are deliberately neglected (except for the essay by Dimitri Obolensky on the relations of Byzantium and Russia), the studies treat important topics; they are so stimulating that I wish I had the space to discuss those with which I am somewhat familiar. The space is lacking, and so I present a summary of the contents with a few minor criticisms.

Some of the studies belong to the Italian Renaissance as well as to the late Middle Ages: Nicolai Rubenstein on Marsilius and contemporary Italian thought (a very good treatment which shows appreciation of the background); Peter Partner on Florence and the papacy, 1300-1375; D. M. Bueno de Mesquita on Italian despotism; E. F. Jacob on late medieval Christian humanism; and J. R. Hale on the Italian creation of the bastion. Late medieval political thought on monarchy in "the age of privileges" is represented by Beryl Smalley on Church and state, 1300-1377; John Le Patourel writes on French princes in the fourteenth century; H. S. Offler discusses government in the Empire; and P. S. Lewis covers sovereignty in France during the fifteenth century.

Important too are the essays by Anthony Luttrell on the crusades in the fourteenth century; James Campbell on England and Scotland in the early period of the Hundred Years' War; A. J. Ryder on the government of the Aragonese Empire in Naples; J. R. L. Highfield on the titled nobility in Castile; C. A. J. Armstrong on languages in the Low Countries; and J. M. Fletcher on the social problem of poor students, nobles, and wealthy professors in German universities.

All are good contributions, but why are ideas of public law and the state neglected? Why can one scholar declare that there can be no sovereignty when privileges are granted? How can one say that Pierre Dubois was a chauvinistic lawyer who determined French policy? I miss any reference to the work of Ralph Giesey on Jean de Terre-Rouge. Altogether, valuable as the essays are, they hardly ever refer to the background of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, on Louis XI's determination that the king should have no equal in the

realm, mention of Bracton and others on kingship in the thirteenth century is needed. And why is Aristotelianism credited so often with the introduction of the principle of the common good?

Princeton University

GAINES POST

LES COMPTES DE LA TAILLE ET LES SOURCES DE L'HISTOIRE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE DE PÉRIGUEUX AU XIV^e SIÈCLE. By *Arlette Higounet-Nadal*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Démographie et sociétés, Number 9.] (Paris: S.E.V. P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 236.)

THIS is a curious book, obviously only a fragment of a larger work. The title describes it accurately; types of sources are discussed, and accounts of nine tailles running from about 1320 to about 1401 are published. Some useful tables show receipts from various quarters, family names, occupations. But the author draws almost no conclusions from her study; instead she describes what she hopes to do when she has completed her analysis of the documents. The only statement that will aid students of demographic history is her assertion that when it made its greatest effort in 1366-1367, Périgueux was able to find 1,320 taxable hearths. She does not, however, risk a guess as to the number of persons per hearth; nor, except in general terms, does she estimate the number of those exempt from taxation. In short, most of the material in this book cannot be used effectively until the author completes her work.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE HUSSITE KING: BOHEMIA IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, 1440-1471. By *Otařar Odložilík*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 337. \$10.00.)

UNTIL recently there existed no substantial publication in English, and hardly anything up to date in any Western language, on the Poděbradian phase in the history of Bohemia. During 1965 two works on this topic appeared: my *George of Bohemia, King of Heretics*, and this book. While the central figure, George of Poděbrady, is identical, the two books, nevertheless, present different approaches to their topic. It is impossible to write about the last Czech on Bohemia's throne without touching and elaborating on problems of diplomatic history. Odložilík's book, however, is overwhelmingly, almost to the exclusion of domestic developments, concerned with this side of George's reign. Even within the framework of his foreign policy it is one specific aspect that dominates the work: the relation between the King and the papacy. This is justifiable, for among Prague's foreign relations those with Rome were paramount and necessarily influenced and often determined George's policy toward other powers such as Poland, France, Venice, Hungary, and toward the Emperor Frederick III and the most important German princes.

Odložilík's work is not the first in the long Poděbradian historiography that specializes in the Prague-Rome relationship. Compared to earlier uncritical glorification, Odložilík, for all his warm feelings for the Hussite King, maintains a

remarkable objectivity. Some of the best parts of the book deal with the motivations and actions of the popes and their foremost servants. No other historian of the Poděbradian phase of history has done as much work in the Vatican Archives as has Odložilík. This has certainly helped him to present the papal views and policies in a thoroughly fair and sober manner.

Odložilík decided not to burden his book with a heavy apparatus of documentation. Occasionally, however, informed readers would like to get a more specific explanation, on the basis of available sources, of the author's interpretation, especially when those readers have worked in the same fields and have themselves arrived at a different interpretation. For example, Odložilík refuses to consider seriously the suggestion that the great plan for a peace league of lay princes (1463) was not exclusively the work of Antoine Marini, that, specifically, Martin Mair might have had some influence on its shaping. This is not done by discussing the evidence and explaining his choice, but by leaving any alternative unmentioned. By taking this stand, Odložilík attributes to Marini a more important and decisive role in that phase of George's foreign policy than I, for one, would be ready to accept.

On the whole, this is a fine contribution to the problems of the Poděbradian Age, a work worthy of its author and of the mature, thoughtful, and wise scholarship that he has represented for such a long time in the historiography of his native country.

University of Calgary

FREDERICK G. HEYMANN

THE WARS OF THE ROSES. By J. R. Lander. [History in the Making Series.] (London: Secker and Warburg. 1965. Pp. 336. 50s.)

THE fifteenth century will soon cease to be, if it ever really was, the forgotten century of English history. There has not been such a spate of writing about it, as that of recent years, since the days of Wylie, Kingsford, and Vickers. This latest work is essentially a collection of sources, with modernized spelling and punctuation, but retaining the contemporary language. This will no doubt frequently puzzle the general reader for whom the book is intended, as in words like "upsetting" meaning "setting up," or "witty" which will evoke a fleeting thought of Henry IV incongruously showing sparkle and humor on the eve of a battle. Similarly, "Way, nay, God defend [it]" might give pause as might the lack of punctuation, when it was observed, "and no doubt of it was a fervent cold weather and a biting," when Humphrey of Gloucester was murdered in 1447.

On the other hand, there is a fascination in the language for those who will make the effort to read it. Professor Lander has an intimate knowledge of the sources; he writes with authority; and he has assembled an illuminating collection of contemporary or near contemporary writings.

It is a pity that the plan of his work does not allow space for any effective discussion of these writings. There are not many historians who could have done this better than Lander. As it is, the same general readers for whom he writes are left at the mercy of propaganda, much of it concealed as near contemporary history. All the help they receive is a negative warning of the unreliability of the sources, usually at the expense of the Yorkists. Nor are they encouraged to

penetrate the surface of events and to have some concern for the interplay of ideas. Open-mindedness of any kind is not encouraged by the somewhat fanciful publisher's blurb which claims stoutly that the whole series of "History in the Making" "is history as it really was."

Lander himself shows repeatedly that he is not under any such delusion. Despite this, one closes the volume with a little uneasiness as well as much appreciation. It would, perhaps, have been better if it had ended at the conventional date of 1485, rather than at the death of Henry VII. Some precious space could have been saved and given to the suggestive but scanty introduction, or to Chapter VII on "The Fortunate Island." Some might even have been used to give a more spacious and reasoned evaluation of the many problems and difficulties still confronting the historian of this age.

University of Toronto

B. WILKINSON

Modern Europe

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume VI, THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS AND AFTER: INCOMES, POPULATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE. In two parts. Edited by *H. J. Habakkuk* and *M. Postan*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 601; xii, 603-1040. \$19.50 the set.)

VOLUME VI of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* appears in two "parts," or volumes. Volumes IV and V have not yet appeared. Two more volumes are promised for the indefinite future. Meanwhile a revised edition of Volume I (first published in 1940) is reported to be on its way. The misfortune, mismanagement, and confusion suggested by this record are fully exemplified in Volume VI. It apparently went to press sometime in 1961; it was, therefore, in view of the number of important publications that have appeared in the interim, out of date before it was published. Some of the chapters appear to have been completed, and not retouched, at least ten years ago. They are uneven with respect to coverage as well as quality; the majority deal with the period from about 1800 to the outbreak of World War I, but a few reach World War II or after, and two or three dip back to the seventeenth century and earlier.

W. A. Cole and Phyllis Deane sketch "The Growth of National Incomes." The authors, well known for their quantitative studies of British national income, do not restrict themselves to quantitative data here, but engage in necessarily superficial discussions of the causes of growth or nongrowth in specific countries, which are repeated—and sometimes contradicted—in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Their coverage of continental Europe is especially weak, indicating that they have not consulted some of the most important sources even of quantitative data. D. V. Glass's and E. Grebenik's chapter on "World Population, 1800-1950," is a competent demographic study, but it has little to do directly with the history of the period indicated. Only ten pages sketch the history of population growth in Europe and Asia (the other continents are virtually ignored except for one table); over half the chapter is devoted to a fairly technical discussion of fertility rates

and their significance, with illustrative data drawn from recent years. "The Opening of New Territories" (A. J. Youngson) deals chiefly with English-speaking territories; South America is mentioned briefly, but there is nothing on Africa or the Russians in Siberia. The chapter is based on a narrow range of secondary sources, including textbooks, and is marred by numerous inaccurate details. The chapter on transport (L. Girard) might have been written thirty years ago in so far as it purports to summarize recent research.

Over half of Part I (328 of 601 pages) is given to David Landes' essay on "Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe, 1750-1914." (The title in the table of contents omits the word "industrial," suggesting a difference of opinion between the author and editors on the intended scope of the chapter.) It derives from an exceptionally wide knowledge of the relevant literature and sources; the bibliography is longer and more valuable than all of the others together, although even it contains a few surprising omissions. The scope of the chapter is broader than either technological or industrial history and includes *ad hoc* comparisons with other regions and obiter dicta on both earlier and later epochs. On the other hand, detailed treatment is given only to Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany; the Mediterranean and Scandinavian countries are barely mentioned, whereas the long section on Britain's Industrial Revolution largely duplicates standard textbook accounts. Elsewhere, instead of merely summarizing the existing state of knowledge, Landes frequently puts forward interpretations of his own which are likely to mislead nonspecialists, especially since he does not always do justice to the views of those he criticizes. (This brief paragraph does not do justice to Landes' book-length contribution, which merits a review in itself.)

Part II (Chapters vi-x) is more successful in providing readers with concise, balanced summaries of the state of knowledge on its topics. Folke Dovring treats "The Transformation of European Agriculture" with authority and finesse. Douglass North gives a succinct account of industrialization in the United States from 1789 to 1914. In what is probably the most original chapter in the book Alexander Gerschenkron studies in depth the agrarian policies of tsarist Russia in their relation to industrialization. Roger Portal presents a straightforward chronological account of Russian industrialization from the mid-nineteenth century to the era of the Five-Year Plans, and G. C. Allen concludes with a brief, competent review of industrialization in East Asia.

The editors excuse themselves for the duplications, contradictions, and uneven tenor of both the chapters and the bibliographies on the grounds that the authors had complete freedom of expression. Such a laissez-faire policy verges on irresponsibility, however. The authors might at least have read one another's contributions in order to consider differences of opinion—and to be sure that they were using the same set of "facts"!

Santiago, Chile

RONDO CAMERON

BERGBAU UND HÜTTENWESEN IN FRANKREICH UM DIE MITTE
DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS: EINE STUDIE ÜBER DIE ENTSTEHUNG
KAPITALISTISCHER PRODUKTIONSVERHÄLTNISSE IN DEN

- GRUBEN DES LYONNAIS UND BEAUJOLAIS. By *Adolf Laube*. [Freiberger Forschungshefte, Montangeschichte, Number D 38.] (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffindustrie. 1964. Pp. 153. DM 29.60.)
- BERGBAU UND ABSOLUTISMUS: DER SÄCHSISCHE BERGBAU IN DER ZWEITEN HÄLFTE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS UND MASSNAHMEN ZU SEINER VERBESSERUNG NACH DEM SIEBENJÄHRIGEN KRIEGE. By *Hans Baumgärtel*. [Freiberger Forschungshefte, Kultur und Technik, Number D 44.] (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffindustrie. 1963. Pp. 192. DM 42.80.)
- BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES BERGBAUS, HÜTTENWESENS UND DER MONTANWISSENSCHAFTEN (16. BIS 20. JAHRHUNDERT). Volume I. [Freiberger Forschungshefte, Montangeschichte, Number D 46.] (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffindustrie. [1964.] Pp. 127. DM 24.)

THE two-hundred-year-old Academy of Mining in Freiberg performs a rather unique service in the special attention that it pays the history of mining. Detailed treatments of technological, economic, and social factors in this field are certainly welcome. Freiberg, being located in East Germany, is naturally strongly influenced by Marxist doctrine, which should not, however, prevent it from making significant contributions to the history of mining. Present-mindedness and rigidity in approach are, nevertheless, dangers, which, while not absent elsewhere, seem to be more prevalent in the DDR (German Democratic Republic). These three volumes demonstrate both the possible pitfalls and benefits of environment that their place of origin influences.

Laube's work falls more in the category of having been benefited. Using Marxian criteria as his conceptual framework, Laube carefully analyzes an exceptional group of records of several French mines, whose main product was silver. The records cover only a few years in the 1450's, following their sequestration by the King after the conviction of their former owner, Jacques Cœur. The records have previously been used mainly to reveal Cœur's activities. As a result of a careful analysis of these records, whose quality far exceeds their brevity, Laube has provided an entrepreneurial study of considerable value. It is highly useful as a standard by which enterprises of subsequent periods for which longer time series are available can be judged. The picture that evolves from this study indicates that fifteenth-century enterprises already had an organization and a technology as advanced as that to be found as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although this does not come as a complete surprise, it is nonetheless a welcome additional demonstration. Laube's worth-while monograph suffers from an overly strong exploitation of the particular archival sources. A more comparative approach could well have yielded better results.

Concerning Laube's study, one might be tempted to complain about an excessively rigid organization. No such problem exists for Baumgärtel's rather diffuse volume. To be sure, to relate mining and absolutism in eighteenth-century Saxony provides more problems than does an intensive study of a few years in one particular enterprise. Baumgärtel, however, made his task considerably easier by a strong and wise reliance on the published and unpublished writings of several top

officials in the area. The most important of these personalities was Friedrich Anton von Heynitz, the most influential person with respect to mining during the period of his service in Saxony from 1763 to 1774. Subsequently he became minister of mining in Prussia. A thorough exposition of his views as well as those of several other officials on whom Baumgärtel's study strongly leans would have resulted in a fine picture of the conditions of mining at the time and the measures that were proposed and taken for their improvement. That this could have been the case is clearly indicated by the publication, as an appendix, of a long document submitted by a commission headed by Heynitz in 1771. Not only is the reader frustrated in this expectation; he is annoyed by a number of rather tired clichés about the "exploiting class," about "inhuman wages," and so forth.

The last volume is composed of papers presented at a meeting at Freiberg in 1963. They deal primarily with mining education and were given by Soviet, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and East German historians. The book's greatest merit is its bibliography of articles and books on the history of mining produced by East German writers between 1945 and 1963. The titles of serious historical works, as well as numerous propagandistic pieces, are included.

Tulane University

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

FRANCESCO BUONVISI: *NUNZIATURA A VARSAVIA*. Volume I (1 GENNAIO 1673-2 GIUGNO 1674). Edited by *Furio Diaz* and *Nicola Carranza*. [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Number 75.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1965. Pp. xviii, 536. L. 4,000.)

PUBLICATION of the correspondence of the papal nuncios still goes on apace. The editors may be tiring of the project—at least the increasing number of typographical errors suggests as much. But historians will undoubtedly be as enthusiastic as ever, particularly when they see the care with which Furio Diaz and Nicola Carranza, respectively professor and assistant of modern history at the University of Pisa, have identified and indexed all the many names cited in the text and have reconstructed the original Polish orthography from the Italian adaptations.

This book follows upon the two previously published volumes of the same nuncio (*Nunziatura a Colonia* [1959]), and it is also drawn from the rich Buonvisi archive in Lucca. It covers a particularly important moment in the history of Poland: the sixteen months between the Peace of Buczacz in January 1673 and the election of the future liberator of Vienna, John Sobieski, in May 1674. It gives, in the almost daily reports of one of the most perspicacious observers and able diplomats of the time, a very detailed picture of the internal political conditions of the country and describes the almost insuperable difficulties the nuncio had to face: a weak, vacillating king, "un corpo insanabile perchè non voleva guarire"; an aristocracy "sepolti in un profondo letargo e totalmente acciecati dall'interesse proprio"; and a "plebe" slowly becoming aware of the possible advantages of Turkish domination. Finally, it thoroughly documents the policy of the papacy: to re-establish harmony in Poland and in Europe, not for the sake of peace itself, but to "restituire alla nazione pollacca

[sic] la gloria di combattere et di vincere," and thus push back the Turks. In spite of its humiliation at Westphalia, in other words, the papacy was still pouring its money and energy into the defense of the *Respublica Christiana*, a noble if anachronistic ideal that had long since disappeared from the calculations of all the other states of Europe.

University of Chicago

ERIC COCHRANE

IL PROBLEMA ITALIANO E L'EQUILIBRIO EUROPEO, 1720-1738. By Guido Quazza. [Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, Biblioteca di storia italiana recente, New Series, Volume VII.] (Turin: the Deputazione. 1965. Pp. 500. L. 10,000.)

IN the preface and conclusion of this book Quazza claims to have proved, first, that in the early eighteenth century the "Italian problem" was the central one in European affairs and, second, that in these years Piedmont had not yet assumed its destined role as the unifier of Italy. He also implies that his study illustrates the way the historian should integrate the traditional matter of diplomatic history with the important substratum of "ideas and forces." But the claims and the boast prove to be unwarranted. How can one pretend to have shown that Italy in this period was the chief apple of European discord if his research deals chiefly with Piedmontese foreign relations and if he lightly dismisses such topics as Spain's grievance over Gibraltar, Charles VI's obsession with the Pragmatic Sanction, and all the ambitions involved in the War of the Polish Succession? As for Piedmont and its future role as unifier, it is hardly worth anyone's time to refute the old nationalist, even Fascist, historians' view that the *Risorgimento* began in the early eighteenth century. And where in this study are the "ideas and forces" underlying diplomatic history? Quazza's few attempts to flesh out his traditional diplomatic treatment with other material and comment remind me of Oscar Levant's witticism that he likes to sit in front of table lamps "to give myself an illusion of three dimensionality."

Stripped of its grand generalities, Quazza's book is a fairly useful study of little Piedmont's frustrations as it saw the Great Powers seizing choice lots of Italian real estate. Indeed, perhaps the main interest of the book lies in the reactions of the Piedmontese kings and ambassadors to the major European rulers: the "royal phantom" of Spain and his overbearing wife, the latter obsessed by the idea of getting a slice of her native Parmesan for her son; Charles VI of Austria, lazy and haughty, but not too proud to settle for Tuscany when he lost Naples and Sicily; and Cardinal Fleury, the cautious and opportunistic chief minister of France, arranging the land transfers and treating the disappointed young Piedmontese sovereign as if he (Fleury) were the affable but all-powerful head of a zoning board. The last fifth of Quazza's book is an appendix of nuggets from the archives of Turin—a strange mixture of general diplomatic reports on Spain, Austria, England, and Italy, and more specific discussions of Austrian troops, English commerce, and Walpole's excise crisis. For this unbound book of five hundred pages the publisher charges sixteen dollars. *Corpo di Bacco!*

University of Pennsylvania

JAMES CUSHMAN DAVIS

THE BATTLE OF BUSSACO: MASSÉNA VS. WELLINGTON. By *Donald D. Horward*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 44.] (Tallahassee: the University. 1965. Pp. xvi, 185. \$5.50.)

UNDERSTANDABLY, the history of the Peninsular campaigns has been the special province of English historians. French counterparts to the classic studies of Napier, Oman, and Fortescue do not exist, and, true to tradition, the two most recent works that deal with the Battle of Bussaco (Michael Glover's *Wellington's Peninsular Victories* and James Marshall-Cornwall's *Marshal Massena*) are again by Englishmen. Donald Horward has set himself the task of redressing the balance. His monograph on the Battle of Bussaco, the first installment of a larger study of the French efforts to drive Wellington out of Portugal, by viewing the struggle from the French side, provides a new and highly useful perspective. By making full use, for the first time, of French archival sources, he also is able to add new material to the earlier accounts of the battle and to question a number of previously held assumptions.

When seen from the French side, the Battle of Bussaco assumes a greater significance. For Wellington the battle was a tactical victory; for Masséna, the French commander, it proved a major disaster that was to prejudice the outcome of his campaign and all subsequent French efforts to hold the peninsula. If English accounts give full credit to the courage displayed by the French troops and are properly critical of Masséna, in Horward's opinion they are too generous in their praise of Wellington. The evidence Horward has assembled high-lights the mistakes of both commanders. Had Masséna struck more quickly and handled his troop dispositions and reconnaissance more effectively, Horward argues, he had at least a chance of success; had Wellington taken proper measures to block Masséna's subsequent flanking move, the campaign might well have ended at Bussaco.

To challenge the work of a historian of Oman's stature requires some courage. Horward, however, marshals his evidence with skill, and, where he disagrees, he argues his case persuasively. If we are dealing here with the account of a single battle, what must be no more than a fragment of a larger canvas, the approach and the methods employed by Horward give promise that he may one day effect a major reassessment of the Peninsular campaigns.

University of Michigan

JOHN BOWDITCH

FRÜHJAHRSFELDZUG 1813: DIE ROLLE DER RUSSISCHEN TRUPPEN BEI DER BEFREIUNG DEUTSCHLANDS VOM NAPOLEONISCHEN JOCH. By *Fritz Straube*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Geschichte der Völker der UdSSR an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Series B, Abhandlungen, Number 5.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1963. Pp. 284. DM 29.90.)

BAD history can be written in any political environment, but authoritarian regimes, when they represent sophisticated and demanding ideologies, lay a particularly heavy burden on the study of the past. The author of this work on the spring campaign of 1813 has allowed his Communist beliefs to cripple him as a historian. He sets himself two main tasks: to prove that Kutuzov showed no re-

luctance to continue the war against Napoleon even after the French had been driven from Russia and to demonstrate that without the dedication of the Russian soldier and the German common man the Wars of Liberation would have faltered. Though he draws on new material in the East German and Russian archives, he achieves neither of these aims. His analysis of Russian grand strategy is inhibited by the concepts of just and imperialistic wars and adds nothing to our understanding of the conflicts among the Russian leaders, the administrative and economic problems of their armies, the government's negotiations with Prussia, Sweden, and England. The second task—demonstrating the connection between popular attitudes and policy—offers an important methodological challenge, which, however, the author evades. Instead he resorts to revolutionary logic.

Syllogisms by themselves cannot fill a book, and much of the text is in fact devoted to attacks on the Prussian government of the period and on its later German interpreters. The combative yet slipshod manner in which this is done suggests that ideology alone should not be held responsible for the results. Certainly many German histories of the Napoleonic era have been marred by the overbearing nationalism of their authors. Nor can it be doubted that we need to know much more about the politics and strategy of 1813 and that the Russian and East German archives contain much unexploited material on this period. New studies of the Russo-Prussian alliance are needed; this book shows how the thing cannot be done.

Institute for Advanced Study

PETER PARET

RUSSIA AND GERMANY: A CENTURY OF CONFLICT. By *Walter Laqueur*. [Encounter Book.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. 367. \$6.75.)

Mr. Laqueur, an exceedingly versatile and prolific scholar, has followed up his previous studies in recent Middle Eastern, Russian, and German history with a book on the relations between Russia and Germany since the mid-nineteenth century. This is not, as one might expect, predominantly diplomatic history; it is, rather, a history of the ideas and attitudes of certain circles, some obscure, some influential, that profoundly affected the relationship and history of the two countries. Diplomats and their craft, the author rightly maintains, were not the most important agents of international relations in recent times, particularly in the age of totalitarian dictatorships, and diplomatic documents would not tell the whole, not even the most significant, part of the story. He wished, therefore, to deal with the metapolitics of Russian-German relations and to uncover, in particular, the specific Russian influences on Nazi ideology. This is, then, a history of ideas and intercultural relations, with political, economic, and military developments placed in their proper context.

Laqueur is eminently qualified for undertaking such a study. Born in 1921 in Breslau in the border zone between the Germanic and Slavic cultures and intimately acquainted with Russia and its culture, he brings to the subject the necessary tools as well as historical understanding. Besides exploiting the rich resources of the Wiener Library in London, he has used unpublished materials at the Berlin Document Center, the National Archives, the Hoover Institution, and

at various specialized archives in Western Europe. East German archives were not accessible to him. For the Russian side of the story, he consulted Russian newspapers, periodicals, books, and pamphlets, many of them difficult to come by.

As a background for the Russian contributions to Nazi ideology, Laqueur sketches the influence and activities of Baltic Germans in Russian ruling circles and the strained relations between Russians and Germans in an age of Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism. He rightly draws attention to the specific and direct influence, largely overlooked by scholars, of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and of certain Russian *émigrés* in Germany on Nazi thought in the early 1920's. The author has dug deeply in the "ideological rubbish dump" of that period to reveal the obscure and pathetic characters who contributed the anti-Semitic version of anti-Bolshevism to Nazi thought.

A lengthy chapter analyzes critically the official attitude to the baffling phenomenon—to Marxists—of Nazism, which was persistently viewed as an excrescence of bourgeois capitalism, on a par with social democracy, which was labeled "Social Fascism." This blind dogmatism, which did not distinguish between Nazism and its declared enemies and which identified the German Social Democrats as the main enemy of Communism, lasted until 1934 and contributed significantly to the triumph of Hitler. The final section of the book, dealing with the period since 1939, offers some fresh insights but little new material. The reader might disagree with some of the author's judgments regarding Soviet policies, but these are minor matters in view of the broad range of the subject covered.

Laqueur has produced an illuminating and fascinating account of a little-known area in Russian-German relations, based on a wide range of published and unpublished materials. He writes with commendable detachment, yet with critical, sophisticated judgment, in a fresh, lucid style. The rich explanatory and bibliographical notes add considerably to the value of this work.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

THE ARTICULATE CITIZEN AND THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE. By
Arthur B. Ferguson. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1965. Pp. xvii,
429. \$10.00.)

THE title of this book leaves the prospective reader somewhat uncertain as to its contents; it is in fact an extended historical essay on English social and economic criticism from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the accession of Queen Elizabeth I. The earliest works dealt with are *Mum and the Sothsegger* and the *Libel of English Policy*; the latest, the *Discourse of the Common Weal*. About a quarter of the book is devoted to the period before 1500. The treatment of the topic is chronological with successive chapters on the major social critics of these generations, including such familiar figures as Fortescue, More, Starkey, Latimer, Crowley, and the author (perhaps Sir Thomas Smith) of the *Discourse*. This is well-mapped ground, but Professor Ferguson approaches it from a fresh angle. He is interested in these writers as private commentators and critics, concerned with the socioeconomic, and, very obliquely, the political, order. He sees them as the shapers of the first era in the long history of English public opinion. The emphasis

of his book lies in a careful and detailed examination of the gradual shift from the generalized grievance and moralistic, often abstract, counsel of late medieval writing to the systematic and realistic analysis of the Tudor authors and the concrete remedies spelled out by them.

In such a book there is a risk that the treatment of successive authors will become a mere catalogue of names and ideas; secondly, it is not easy to say something fresh about authors as well known and well studied as most of these. Ferguson has succeeded largely in overcoming both these obstacles. The book might have been somewhat more compact, but it would have lost something of the full and careful analysis that is one of its strengths. The author is particularly persuasive in tracing the gradual acceptance of the pursuit of mercantile advantage as a morally neutral or even praiseworthy activity and the concomitant emergence of an embryonic but articulate mercantilism. He offers a convincing account of the crucial shift away from traditional medieval moralism to a new secularism with a descriptive rather than a normative approach to economic and social phenomena; he is careful not to neglect the remaining elements of the older outlook still embedded in these writers. Occasionally he argues a little too strongly for the coherence of the new thought; on his own showing it was highly pragmatic and came tumbling out in unsystematic and quite *ad hoc* fashion.

Most of the earlier writers dealt with in this book inclined to be, as critics, somewhat detached, abstract, and distant from the actual business of government. But the mid-century writers, as Ferguson points out, offered prescriptions of a specific and pragmatic type, and their ideas were beginning to percolate directly into the formulation of government policy. Some, like Sir Thomas Smith, were directly involved in government at a high level. The crucial distance that had separated social criticism from political action was rapidly dwindling. The moment when considered public opinion became part of the fabric of English politics deserves closer investigation.

This is a useful and thorough book on an important topic; it will serve more than one field of historical interest.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

TWO TUDOR CONSPIRACIES. By *D. M. Loades*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 284. \$8.00.)

By tracing the opposition to Queen Mary's rule, in particular the conspiracies led by Wyatt and Dudley, Mr. Loades has pinpointed both the weaknesses and the essential resiliency of the central government in mid-sixteenth-century England. Constitutional theories were vague at best, and the royal councilors were quarrelsome and frequently inept, but a fundamental hatred of rebellion, and the mistakes of the plotters, prevented resentment of the Spanish marriage from turning into effective resistance. Religious motives were conspicuously absent, as were social grievances. The risings that did take place relied almost exclusively on a few ambitious gentry and their dependents, who were never strong enough to overthrow Mary, even when Wyatt reached London itself. Loades skillfully conveys the atmosphere of constant crisis, and he provides a shrewd analysis of the causes

and consequences of the unrest, making an important connection with the first stirrings of parliamentary opposition. But it is an uneven book, which frequently becomes lost in a welter of minor plotters. Nearly three chapters, for example, are filled with detailed information about indictments, trials, punishments, pardons, and fines—information that should have been relegated to an appendix and presented systematically in the text. So many names are mentioned that it is difficult to keep track of those that count, particularly when there are a number of Dudleys, Throckmortons, or Carews to follow. It is unfortunate that a book dealing with revolt and conspiracy should lack narrative drive, and Loades even allows some of his best moments (such as Throckmorton's acquittal) to pass undescribed because they are well known. Yet much of his material has already been covered in the important studies by Harbison and Garrett, and he might have taken greater advantage of its dramatic possibilities. After a fine start in the early chapters, the interest is lost as the obscure names multiply. Thus, one is frequently forced to refer to the index to find out who is who, and the narrative sags. This is a pity because the over-all conclusions and analyses are persuasive and suggestive. The discussions of the motives of the troublemakers are particularly good, and the chapter on the exiles in France is an excellent study of the perennial problems of such overseas plotters.

Any student of this period will profit from reading the book, but it will be difficult going in places. There are a useful map, a brief bibliography, and an interesting set of appendixes.

Harvard University

THEODORE K. RABB

THE REFORMATION IN ESSEX: TO THE DEATH OF MARY. By *James E. Oxley*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1965. Pp. xii, 320. \$8.00.)

Mr. Oxley's foray in depth into the social and financial thicket of the first phase of the Reformation in Essex County may well establish a trend in historical studies relating to that upheaval in the English Church. His work does in a magnificent way for Essex what Professor Rowse did many years ago for Cornwall. It is pleasant to think that one day the entire history of the Tudor-directed insular theological revolution may be available in such perceptive, excellently conceived, and well-written divisions. Yet this is a work of further merit too: as a specialized contribution in filling out a critical historical period and phenomena, as a study in the intricate procedures of gathering and synthesizing historical data, and as an example of scholarly extrapolation of knowledge from an incredibly rich supply of historical evidence.

The author's reaction to the problems of quantity and heterogeneity of documentary materials, however, forces me into a minor caveat. Sometimes the zest of the chronicler gets the better of the balanced historian, and the cataloguing of factual minutiae concerning clerical incomes, benefice values, inventories of dissolved monasteries, clerical pensions, the liquidation of heretics, and such directs attention away from the study itself. Owing no doubt to his wealth of materials, the author sometimes fails to rely on the most dependable sources available. This is especially obvious in his occasional resort to Strype, Wriothesely, Foxe, Machyn, Cardwell, Wilkins, and others, in citing royal injunctions, royal and conciliar

proclamations, and other official instruments concerned with clerical discipline, institutional regulation, and the general process of the Reformation.

One is inclined to question, too, in light of Professor Neelak Tjernagel's recently published *Henry VIII and the Lutherans*, the soundness of Oxley's exclusion of any discussion of the relationship of that reformist movement per se to the religious situation in Essex prior to and during the period of Cranmer's ascendancy and Mary's attempted return to Rome. Calvinist, Anabaptist, and other dissenting groups are ignored in about the same degree. The chapter "Fire and Faggot," a digest of Foxe's account of several Essexshire martyrdoms during Mary's reign, contributes little of real value. The tabular appendixes relating to pluralities, benefices, monastery populations, and the values of religious houses, chantries, free chapels, and hospitals in the dissolution period offer interesting statistical pounds and pence information pertinent to the economic and social history of the English Reformation.

DePaul University

PAUL L. HUGHES

WILLIAM STRACHEY, 1572-1621. By S. G. Culliford. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1965. Pp. 224. \$4.50.)

As the writing of biography progresses, increasingly minor figures become subjects of increasingly elaborate scholarly accounts. William Strachey has now been promoted from 120-odd lines in the *DNB* to nearly twice that number of pages in this book.

Strachey has not, of course, been totally unknown. Students of the American colonies will be familiar with his *True Reportory* of Sir Thomas Gates's shipwreck on the Bermudas in 1609, recently treated to a new edition by Louis B. Wright, his *Lawes* for the Virginia colony, and his *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*; literary scholars will be aware of his influence on Shakespeare's *Tempest*, his friendship with Ben Jonson, and his connection with the Blackfriars theater. But little has been known positively about the man himself. Culliford, having worked through an amazing mass of local papers and legal documents, supplies a wealth of information about Strachey's ancestors, properties, and financial troubles.

Most interestingly, Culliford has been able to give us a full account of Strachey's travels to Constantinople, which have been shrouded in obscurity. Setting out from England in 1606 as secretary to the new ambassador, Thomas Glover, Strachey met with misfortune when Glover clashed with the previous envoy, Henry Lello, who had remained in Turkey. Strachey transferred his loyalties to Lello; within a year he was back in London, penniless and without a job. It was then that he sailed for Virginia, only to be involved in the wreck of the *Sea Venture*. Even his account of that disaster met with bad luck, for it was not printed until after his death. Strachey's longer work, *The Historie of Travaile*, was forestalled by John Smith's *Map of Virginia* and was not published until the nineteenth century. Despite his exciting adventures and colorful prose style, Strachey had little to show for his life when he was buried in London on June 21, 1621.

While Culliford fails to sustain a high level of readability when dealing with Strachey's family and property transactions, he does weave as continuous a nar-

rative as the scrappy materials permit. Included are an appendix that discusses the sources for *The Historie of Travaile* and an excellent bibliography.

University of Texas

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG

SHAKESPEARE'S SOUTHAMPTON: PATRON OF VIRGINIA. By A. L. Rowse. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. x, 323. \$6.95.)

THE depth and breadth of Mr. Rowse's acquaintance with Elizabethan and Jacobean society are beyond question. But his knowledge is regrettably not employed to best advantage in his latest book, a biography of the third Earl of Southampton that adds little more than a highly individual style to the work long done by Stopes, Craven, and others. Rowse is hardly generous to these predecessors, from whom most of his material is drawn. There are only seven references to Stopes despite Professor Akrigg's question as to whether quotations may have been taken from her biography rather than the sources cited. At the only place in the text where—so far as I have noticed—another scholar is depicted as perceptive, the generosity is tempered by omission of the man's name. Of more consequence is the indifference to accuracy and method, which Rowse has flipantly defended in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Thus, when a possible interpretation is presented, alternatives are either peremptorily dismissed or left unmentioned. An association that, for example, Shakespeare *could* have had in mind is treated, not as one plausible alternative, but as an incontrovertible fact. William Strachey's "Noble Lady" is described as the Countess of Bedford with no consideration of Gayley's arguments in favor of Lady Howard or Culliford's for Lady Smythe. And the identification of Sir William Harvey as "W. H." concludes: "There is no problem." One vital step in this identification is the explanation that the word "adventurer" in the dedication of the sonnets meant an investor in the Virginia colony in 1609. Yet in fact Harvey never subscribed to the Virginia Company.

Having virtually ignored predecessors and alternatives, Rowse relies extensively on judgment by adjective and unsupported assertion. Epithets such as "odious," "ass," "wicked," and "bitch" are applied as easily as more wide-ranging *ad hoc* statements. With no attempt at justification Charles I is summed up as "a hopeless king," the Treaty of Westphalia is considered to have "confirmed things much as they had been before," and so on. The depiction of quartan fever as both consumption and malaria and the many similar off-the-cuff opinions can be regarded as inconsequential shortcomings. But it is less easy to accept in comfort the admission that the venality and treachery of John Churchill were "unaccountably omitted" from Rowse's family history of *The Early Churchills*. And further doubts are raised by the comment that follows the information that the Journals of the House of Lords became much more detailed in 1621—"for those who like that sort of thing." This may be a pleasant witticism, but does it reflect an impatience with the more detailed and precise kind of history that additional documentation makes possible?

There is more that is new on the Earl of Southampton in the occasional references in Lawrence Stone's *Crisis of the Aristocracy* than there is in this biography. It is remarkable, for instance, that Stone should have been able to analyze the 1624 survey of the Southampton estates whereas Rowse can give no hint that such

a source even exists. Although the present book provides an account of the Earl's life and antecedents that is easy to read, and asides that are frequently entertaining, it is too little concerned with proof or evidence to be a substantial contribution to its subject.

Harvard University

THEODORE K. RABB

CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O., C.B., T.D., PRESERVED AT HATFIELD HOUSE, HERTFORDSHIRE. Part XIX (A.D. 1607). Edited by *M. S. Giuseppi* and *D. McN. Lockie*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, Number 9.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 638. \$33.60.)

ALTHOUGH the Salisbury manuscripts for 1607 do not seem to reveal material that essentially adds to our knowledge of Jacobean England, they will be welcomed by students of the period. Parliament is in session, but there are few references to it. James is concerned with hunting but also with the serious financial difficulties of his government. He offers specific advice to the council on the problems created by monopolies and suits, urging the council "to stay this continual haemorrhage of outletting." He reveals his animosity toward the Dutch: "Should I ruin myself for maintaining them, should I bestow as much upon them yearly as cometh to the value of my whole yearly rent?" James also is concerned about cases in the law courts. When Salisbury instructs him in considerable detail about developments in Fuller's case, James thanks his minister for his "discreet handling the Judges in Fuller's matter."

The problem of the recusants occurs frequently in these letters. Worcestershire "still swarms with multitudes of dangerous papists, who though they go to church for form's sake, conceal in their houses priests and others of most dangerous dispositions." In Yorkshire there is a lonely valley where the papists "well-weaponed" defy the law and "upon a whoop or two given gathered together, resisted, pursued and reviled" the officials seeking them out. For Northumberland a detailed document is drawn up "for religion in the principal families, by whom the multitude may safely be led in matters of religion or other action."

Several entries concern Cambridge colleges. The master and fellows of Christ's College write James that Gabriel Moore of Trinity, the King's choice, is not theirs and ask that "they may be permitted to make a free election." To choose Moore "cannot but be a great discouragement to our own scholars who are painful and profitable students, when they see these preferments, which our honourable foundress provided for the poorest, to be carried away by the rich and such as can make best friends in Court to his Majesty."

The letters in this volume cover a wide range of topics. James Town is mentioned, a messenger from the Sultan arrives, and young men traveling abroad write home to Salisbury. The widening horizon for some Englishmen at this time, the old and new problems of the government, the life and thought of early Jacobean society come alive for the year 1607 in this volume whose editing has been expertly done.

Rutgers University

MARGARET A. JUDSON

THE ENGLISH MILITIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE STORY OF A POLITICAL ISSUE, 1660-1802. By *J. R. Western*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 479. \$11.50.)

RESEARCH on this work began as an attempt to write a supplementary volume to the monumental work of the Webbs on English local government. The approach was abandoned when it became obvious to the author that, unlike other phases treated by the Webbs, the militia never ceased to be an issue in national politics. Thus, despite the title, the preface makes clear that this is a study of English politics and local government and not a military history. Part One describes the making of the Restoration militia settlement and the strengths and weaknesses resulting from the way in which it was made. Part Two tells of the agitation for reform that stemmed from these strengths and weaknesses and how it eventually succeeded. Part Three deals with the workings of this new system after 1758.

This genuine piece of research is based on a considerable amount of unpublished source material. No bibliography is given, but the note describing sources and the voluminous footnotes indicate the enormous amount of work done by the author during the sixteen years devoted to the study. Parts One and Two, which deal largely with politics on the national level, are not easy reading. At times the details are almost overpowering. Fortunately the superb summaries at the ends of the chapters tie together this wealth of detail and leave the reader with a clear impression of the forces that determined the use made of the militia for internal police duties and defense against foreign invasion.

Part Three is largely an account of the new militia at work under the Act of 1758. Hence the treatment is more descriptive than narrative. Concerning the raising of men, it treats the questions of who bore the burden of the levy, who served in the militia, and what militiamen entered the army. A chapter is devoted to the administrative, economic, and political obstacles to real conscription. Other chapters deal with life in the militia, the pay, clothing, and equipment, the routine of life during service, and the question of militia efficiency. Perhaps because of the subject matter, Part Three seems to be written in a much more sprightly style than the earlier parts. The short concluding chapter is excellent.

This work is a distinct contribution to English history from 1660 to 1802 because it shows the part that the militia and standing army played in the clash between the executive and legislative branches of government. Scholars in other fields who are interested in social and military history will find Part Three and the conclusion worth reading.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE: TORY HUMANIST. By *Jeffrey Hart*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 169. \$5.00.)

IN this study of Viscount Bolingbroke Mr. Hart attempts to place his hero firmly in the humanist tradition—the man of letters instructing the rulers of the day. He explains Bolingbroke's political and literary career in terms of a consistent en-

deavor to preserve traditional values during a period of "drastic social and intellectual change." A brief introduction and seven chapters describe the background provided by Erasmus and More, Ascham, Elyot, Sidney, Spenser, and Milton, place *The Idea of a Patriot King* and other treatises in this line of descent, and contrast the character of these admonitions with those provided by Machiavelli and Hobbes. Bolingbroke's statesmanship, insurrection, and exile are sympathetically explained, and his return to organization of the opposition to Walpole outlined. "The Rational Basis of Monarchy" developed by Bolingbroke is then examined, "The Heart of the Machiavellian Problem" uncovered, and the proper conduct for a "Just Prince" determined. Throughout, the combat and flux of the Machiavellian world image are contrasted with the moral purpose implicit in the decrees of a rational providence. An epilogue summarizes conclusions.

The technical apparatus is poor. The index does injustice to the text, lacking even one entry for Hobbes. The footnotes vary from too brief and vague a documentation to extended précis of more than a page. There is no bibliography. Hart has explored manuscript collections, and most readers would like to know more about their character and content.

The chief merit of the book is the original and stimulating discussion of Bolingbroke's humanism. This should lead to renewed interest in the work of a man greatly admired by Voltaire, Pope, and others of his contemporaries, but until quite recently rather neglected. I would have preferred more on the literary virtues and perhaps less on opposition, per se, to Walpole. The probing of Bolingbroke's admiration of, yet revulsion from, Machiavelli is in many ways illuminating. Not everyone will agree with the exposition of the Florentine's theory of "renewal," but in context it is still very much worth reading. The question may well be raised whether it is entirely just to make the distinction between opposition propagandist and ruling oligarchy, one of morals. Surely all oppositions exercise the privilege of criticizing the virtue of the government in power, and some, by so doing, have been responsible for much of our political theory.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE POLITICAL JOURNAL OF GEORGE BUBB DODINGTON. Edited by John Carswell and Lewis Arnold Dralle. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxv, 476. \$11.20.)

PUBLICATION of *The Diary of the Late George Bubb Dodington* in 1784 made its author a stock character in the drama of eighteenth-century English politics. He became the outstanding example of the small-minded, boroughmongering, place-hunting politician in the Age of Walpole and the Pelhams. The editor of the volume, a parliamentary reformer named H. P. Wyndham, achieved his goal of ridiculing Dodington as typical of those who governed England under a corrupt representative system.

Then, a little more than thirty-five years ago, Sir Lewis Namier started to teach us that reformers and Victorians failed to understand corruption. Corruption, we learned, was not corrupt; it was simply the way Englishmen did things in those days. At Namier's suggestion, Messrs. Carswell and Dralle have produced a new edition under a new title, *The Political Journal of George Bubb Doding-*

ton. Wyndham, it appears, took liberties with the text and omitted such enlightening political entries as "Thursday. The family only," and "Saturday. The same. We drove out." The new editors, using the Dodington materials at Harvard, have supplied these deficiencies and corrected the text. They have also inserted letters that add mites to our knowledge of Dodington's activities. Unless his missing papers come to light, this volume must be accepted as a definitive edition.

Carswell and Dralle have taken great care with the text, and the Clarendon Press has produced a handsome book. The editing of the text, however, is decidedly weak. The explanatory footnotes are casual, inadequate, and sometimes inaccurate. The index, "expanded to give summary particulars of identification" that have been omitted from the footnotes (so write the editors), is studded with such items as "Baillie, Mr., 224," and "Hillman, Miss, 9." These particulars are summary indeed. All the same, students of eighteenth-century English politics will welcome this new edition of the old villain's diary. Dodington re-emerges as the familiar Bubb—pedestrian, humane, uninhibited by principles, occasionally a bad better in the game of politics, yet appropriately successful in securing, at the end of his life, a peerage for which he had no heir.

Yale University

ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

FRESHEST ADVICES: EARLY PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPERS IN ENGLAND. By R. M. Wiles. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 555. \$10.00.)

"To know a man who lived in former times, one must see his portrait and read his letters; to know a community as it was two centuries ago, one should read its local newspaper of that time." The advice is sound, the task formidable; the result is, in this instance, a happy excursion into the provincial life of early Hanoverian England. Rightly believing that newspapers "comprise a record, not only of what people used to read, but of what they did and of what they were," R. M. Wiles demonstrates that "the 150 newspapers published in sixty English towns before George III came to the throne throw a revealing, if never dazzling, light on many aspects of social life during a particularly absorbing period in England's history."

The papers themselves provide a fascinating source for the scholar who would know the problems of starting and maintaining a sometimes successful business, the lines of communication, trade, and transportation along which the papers moved, the nature of local enterprise as suggested by advertisements and commercial news, and the tenuous profits eked out by men and women who were anything but "lords of the press." Those hardy folk were indeed optimists in need of fortitude and luck to survive the burdens of legal restraint, tax expenses, news shortages, defaulting advertisers, and long-winded contributors. They deserve the sympathetic treatment Wiles has given them.

For the rest, the reader will delight in a choice selection of "freshest advices" of the sort that tickled the fancy of both country squire and tavern loiterer: news of foreign wars and occasional parliamentary debates (the risk was real); editorial comments that suggest that not all publishers were pious Methodists or Quakers; literary features ranging from the redundant to the ridiculous; and those "dis-

closures" of strange births, false maids, murderous assaults, and natural phenomena that still carry readers from one advertisement to the next.

A chronological chart and a bibliographical register of provincial newspapers add special value to Wiles's monograph. His painstaking location of the rare extant copies of these papers will be a boon to future scholars.

The eighteenth-century English newspaper has long awaited the attention of modern historians. It is remarkable that the provincial press should have found two highly competent chroniclers in the last four years, and it is a pleasure to note that their careful, extensive research has produced two complementary but quite dissimilar books. G. A. Cranfield's *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700-1760* was a brilliant synthesis; Wiles's *Freshest Advices* is like a breath of air straight from the English countryside.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

THE POLITICS OF NAVAL SUPREMACY: STUDIES IN BRITISH MARITIME ASCENDANCY. By *Gerald S. Graham*. [The Wiles Lectures Given at Queen's University, Belfast, 1964.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 131. \$6.00.)

THE title of Professor Graham's lively and interesting book is perhaps a bit misleading. This is more a study of naval geography than of naval politics. It gives us a chapter on the Atlantic Ocean, largely limited to the eighteenth century, another on the Indian Ocean ("From the Cape to Canton"), concerned in good part with the nineteenth century, and a third, "The Mediterranean Corridor: Gibraltar to Bombay," an illuminating discussion of threats to the route to India, mainly in the Victorian Age. A final paper, "The Illusion of Pax Britannica," arrives at the not very surprising conclusion that that age was characterized not by "the forceful imposition of a *Pax Britannica*" (who ever said it was?), but by "the international acceptance of a British monopoly of the seas." But the author's initial proposition, "To appreciate the full influence of sea power on the development of the British empire naval history has to be studied from Cabinet offices in Whitehall as well as from the quarterdeck," arouses hopes that he hardly satisfies. The monographs he cites as sources seldom give an adequate account of ministerial policy, which indeed is often singularly difficult to isolate and document. It looks as though Graham himself, or his students, will have to dig deeply into the manuscripts before we have a real analysis of the politics of naval supremacy.

In his remarks on the modern situation, the author writes off Mahan as obsolete. "With the coming of the aeroplane, an empire based on control of the sea was no longer possible. Battleships and cruisers were not sufficient of themselves to maintain maritime communications." But whatever the Royal Navy thought in the beginning, all military thinking for many years has been in terms of the judicious combination of naval and air strength. For *sea power* read *maritime power*, and perhaps Mahan is not quite so out of date. What is it that enables the United States to intervene in Viet Nam? Incidentally, Moscow was not the capital of Russia in the nineteenth century.

Canadian Forces Headquarters, Ottawa

C. P. STACEY

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DON NAVIGATION. By T. S. Willan.
(Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 165. 35s.)

THIS selection from the papers of Joseph Mellish of Doncaster, now in the manuscripts department at Nottingham University, provides a vivid picture of the struggles over the improvement of inland navigation in England before the classic age of canal building. Mellish was the leader of a group of landowners who were apprehensive that improvement of the navigation of the Don River by canals and dams, rather than the more expensive cuts, would flood their lands and perhaps jeopardize the existing mills and communications in their neighborhoods. Their correspondence, published in this volume, covering the period from October 3, 1722, to February 23, 1723, illustrates their organization of a successful resistance to a bill to improve the Don from the Yorkshire Ouse to Sheffield, put forward by the Company of Cutlers of Hallamshire in alliance with the Corporation of Doncaster.

The landowners were not opposed to industry and the interests of the towns, but to the interference with the rights of private property and compulsory purchase which all important river improvements involved, and especially to the flooding of their lands. The arguments put forward in this selection, as well as the discussion of the politics and financing of the improving company set out in Professor Willan's excellent introduction, go far to explain why large-scale inland navigation developed only after 1760, in spite of the fact that the technical problems could have been solved much earlier. Willan's introduction, indeed, is so thorough as to make the printing of some of the items redundant, save for their antiquarian interest. But as a whole the work is a most useful contribution to the prehistory of industrialism.

University of British Columbia

JOHN NORRIS

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE REVEREND JOSEPH GREENE, PARSON,
SCHOOLMASTER AND ANTIQUARY (1712-1790). Edited by *Levi Fox*.
[Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 8.] (London: H. M. Stationery
Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. v, 200.
\$8.00 postpaid.)

LEVI Fox's edition of the letters of Joseph Greene to his brother Richard, a notable antiquary of Litchfield, and to his patron, James West of Alscot, introduces us to an entertaining companion, but does not particularly increase our knowledge of eighteenth-century England. The parts of Greene's life we should most like to know about—details of his mastership of the Stratford on Avon grammar school for thirty-seven years and his performance of pastoral duties in the several parishes he held—are scarcely mentioned in the letters, although what there is about them is typical enough. A tedious dispute with a writing master who had pre-empted a small schoolroom and a rather more full series of reports to West about the education of his infant son do provide a few useful details about pregrammar school education in the provinces. References to clerical activities mostly concern the standard search for preferment (in Greene's case, eventually successful), although there is some indication of a conscientious performance of duties and an adequate piety by eighteenth-century standards. Greene's antiquarian interests are

more fully represented in the fifty-four letters to his brother. Many of the subjects are trivial enough—unimportant books and bad prints—but there is some material of importance for those interested in the eighteenth-century Shakespearean revival. Greene was directly concerned in the restoration of Shakespeare's monument in 1746 and left many notes and memorandums about it (printed in an appendix), as well as descriptions in his letters to his brother. There is also something about Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee. But, in general, none of the matters in these letters are of great importance for scholarship.

The real merit of the edition is in revealing a pleasing and spirited character and personality. Greene as an individual is well worth knowing about, even though quotations from his letters seem unlikely to become commonplaces in social or cultural history.

University of Delaware

ROBERT A. SMITH

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE. By *David Grigg*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 218. \$10.00.)

In the continuing reassessment of the agricultural revolution the study of particular counties or regions is of great assistance. Dr. Grigg's work, dealing with an area of striking internal regional contrasts, offers special opportunities for comparisons. In a century south Lincolnshire changed from a land of much fen and wild heath (mainly less than two hundred feet above sea level) to one of the most productive and technologically advanced parts of England.

Grigg has made a conscientious effort, hampered somewhat by shortage of material, to present and establish a number of fairly definite and up-to-date ideas and to fit them into the general pattern of agricultural revolution. To summarize briefly: On the whole, the half century before 1815 did not witness any great productivity increase as a result of new methods of cultivation. Parliamentary enclosure and the main stage of the drainage of the fens, sources in themselves of greatly increased output, were the tasks of that period. Parliamentary enclosure, important as it was, did not result in any marked change in the size of landholdings, either as to occupancy or ownership, nor in a surplus agricultural population. The chief technological progress came in the period after 1815 when the methods of high farming became fairly common. Grigg very properly discriminates between innovations made by the few progressive farmers and their general adoption. Except for the introduction of steam engines into the drainage system, new machinery played no important part directly in the agricultural revolution. The landlords did not make any significant contribution to technological advance, either by precept or by example. And finally the small holder (Grigg thinks) remained "important" or even "dominant" over most of the region.

On this last point, unfortunately, it becomes apparent that the author has pressed his data too hard into his own concepts. He tells us that "the small farm was still the dominant production unit at the beginning of the nineteenth century" and that this remained still the case in 1851. A careful examination of his text and his Tables 10, 11, and 24 shows that he has confused the percentage of the number of holdings of various sizes with the percentage of the area that they comprised, and the social significance of small holders with their economic sig-

nificance. Aside from this misadventure in logic the book has considerable merit.

Thetford Center, Vermont

CHESTER H. KIRBY

LORD DARTMOUTH AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By B. D. Bargar. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 219. \$6.50.)

THIS study focuses on the public career of William Legge, second earl of Dartmouth, while First Lord of Trade (1765-1766), Secretary of State for the American Department (1772-1775), and Lord Privy Seal during the American Revolution. It is based on a close study of the private papers of the Earl at the William Salt Library, Stafford, a less than satisfactory survey of the relevant files in the Public Record Office, printed sources, and several key secondary works. The dust jacket claims that it is "a different interpretation" of the events preceding the Revolution. I could find little to substantiate the claim. Indeed, the treatment of the events leading to the break with Britain closely follows those in the familiar monographs cited. Bargar's conclusions as to the causes of the Revolution, moreover, are those of Andrews, Gipson, and Osgood. Neither the tyranny of George III nor the materialistic aspirations of the Americans were responsible. Rather, the colonists and the mother country had developed to the point where they no longer agreed on the imperial constitution. Eighteenth-century British politicians, no matter what their party or faction, could not foresee the emergence of the Dominions of a later era. Even Dartmouth, more moderate than his fellow ministers during the critical, indirect negotiations in the winter of 1774-1775 with Franklin, failed to see that the Empire could indeed endure without parliamentary supremacy. The account of these negotiations constitutes, perhaps, the only significantly original section of this book. Dartmouth and the other ministers saw the issue "in simple black-and-white contrasts: either a colony acknowledged Parliament's right to make laws for all Englishmen or else it became an independent state." Given this mentality, it was impossible for them to settle the fundamental issue: how to reconcile "imperial control with colonial home rule." Consequently they had to resort to force. A closer and more extensive examination of the sources might have revealed to Bargar other alternatives.

Bargar fails to investigate the position of the Continental Congress and does not appreciate the advice it received from Franklin and Lee in London who misrepresented the British position. The Americans were operating under the misconception that economic coercion would force the British to retreat. Nor does Bargar investigate political controversies in the colonies, which were closely related to the challenge to the mother country and jeopardized any hope of accommodation. In this study of history as pure, disembodied constitutional doctrine there is no room for the ambitions, the mistakes, the passions, and the miscalculations of mortal men.

University of Nebraska

JACK M. SOSIN

THE BRITISH EMPIRE BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume XI, THE TRIUMPHANT EMPIRE: THE RUMBLING OF THE

COMING STORM, 1766-1770; Volume XII, THE TRIUMPHANT EMPIRE: BRITAIN SAILS INTO THE STORM, 1770-1776. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. lxxxi, 579, xxxv; lvii, 372, xxx. \$10.00 each.)

WHEN Professor Gipson published the first installments of this series thirty years ago, he expected to complete it in ten volumes. Not surprisingly, in view of its broad scope and detailed treatment, that expectation has not been fulfilled. The tenth volume carried the narrative only part way through the year 1766; the present two complete the account, so far as Great Britain and the rebellious colonies are concerned, to the terminal event originally planned, the Declaration of Independence. Left for a thirteenth volume, now in preparation, are a discussion of those areas of the old Empire which remained "beyond the Storm," a summary chapter on the whole series, a treatise on historiography, and a bibliography.

The major theme of these two volumes is that of the relations between the British government and the colonies: parliamentary legislation and attempts at tighter administrative control on the one side, colonial resistance on the other, and the interaction of attitudes and events on both sides of the Atlantic. Three minor themes also receive attention: intercolonial rivalries, illustrated chiefly by the boundary disputes of New York and Pennsylvania with their respective neighbors; intracolony sectional conflicts as exemplified in the Carolinas; and the problems of the frontier, including Indian policy, land speculation, and westward migration. In regard to all these matters Gipson has given us the sort of detailed examination, based upon extensive use of documents and familiarity with leading monographic studies, with which we have already become familiar in this series.

Readers of the earlier volumes will expect to find here a solid narrative of events, and they will not be disappointed. It may be said with confidence that in the work of no other twentieth-century historian can so full and detailed a general treatment of the entire subject be found. Indeed, it seems probable that one of the major ways in which future students will use this series, and notably these two volumes, will be as a reference work in which they can find the factual information they need. Those already familiar with the series, however, will not expect to find, nor will they do so, that these volumes are easy reading. Sentences, for example, are often long, loosely constructed, and crowded with too much detail for quick digestion. One could wish that the author had given as much careful attention to stylistic matters in his presentation as he has to historical substance.

In general interpretation these latest volumes offer what has become a generally conventional view. By the 1760's and 1770's, the author tells us repeatedly, the colonies had become mature political entities, led by men who insisted on managing their own affairs and who resisted any attempt from outside to curb their freedom of action or to interfere with local interests. The British ministry and Parliament, as then constituted, on the other hand, were unwilling, and probably unable, to recognize and accept this "maturity" and hence blundered on from mistake to disastrous mistake until the final crisis. It is in the detailed presentation of the chain of events, set in the context of this broad interpretation, that these volumes make their chief contribution. They depict the climactic years of a major epoch in Anglo-American history as written by one of our senior his-

torians, a man who has dedicated a lifetime to a study of this period. Some readers will prefer a different or more complex interpretation, but all must agree that it will be a long time before another equally devoted scholar will have the courage to undertake, and the tenacity to carry to his planned terminal date, so comprehensive a treatment of these years.

Yale University

LEONARD W. LABAREE

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. Volume V, JULY 1782–JUNE 1789. Edited by *Holden Furber*. With the assistance of *P. J. Marshall*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xxx, 496. \$12.00.)

THIS long-awaited Indian volume of Burke's *Correspondence* contains 338 letters to and from Burke and members of his immediate family, of which 192 have not been previously published. Admitting the difficulty of classifying a letter according to contents when it treats more than one subject, an attempt to classify the letters in this volume by determining the emphasis of each shows that, of the total, about 90 are concerned primarily or entirely with Indian affairs or the impeachment of Hastings, an equal number with what might be called politics, parliamentary or otherwise, 7 or 8 with Ireland, and almost 150 with private and personal as contrasted with public affairs. This volume, letters and notes, is rich in biographical detail but less fruitful of information that would yield new evaluations of Burke as a public man. There is almost nothing new about Ireland; there is not a word in the correspondence about the Irish trade bills of 1785. The editors decided that Burke did not write the letter of May 13, 1785, to Sir John Tydd. Concerning domestic politics, only three "reflective" letters on the state of the nation are identified by the editors. During the stirring six months from October 1783 to the end of March 1784, Burke, it seems, wrote or received no letters of importance about the India bills, the fall of the Fox-North coalition, or the early weeks of Pitt's administration. If this volume makes clear that Indian business and the impeachment, taken as one, was the overriding single public issue in Burke's mind in this period, and if the letters tell much about procedures and tactics relating to it, they yield little that is substantive except to strengthen the judgment (I agree with the editors) that in the Indian business Burke was sincere even when wrong.

With all the new information that this volume supplies, the basic sources for evaluating Burke's thought and his career as a public man in the period 1782–1789 still remain the printed ones that have long been available: his speeches, the parliamentary debates, or the *Reports of the Select Committee on India*, for example. As in the preceding volumes of this grand enterprise, the footnotes are exceptionally informative, the editing, superb.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

THE UNDERGROUND WAR AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE: THE MISSIONS OF WILLIAM WICKHAM 1794–1800. By *Harvey Mitchell*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. 286. \$5.60.)

THIS book is about British agent William Wickham, who went to Switzerland in 1794 to encourage various French *émigré* groups there and continued these efforts

for many years, spending considerable sums—for example, £ 94,028.10.2 in 1795. To tell Wickham's story the author must introduce those with whom his subject dealt, and so we enter the counterrevolutionary labyrinth, but we do not remain on the low level of clandestine ingenuity. Wickham's activities record the phases of British policy and are a kind of mirror of the French counterrevolution, an important subject if only because it reflects the vital issues of the Revolution. The author hopes to demonstrate that British efforts were "an integral part of the counter-revolutionary movement," and although he disavows pretensions "to throw a powerful searchlight on the broader problems of the counter-revolution," he also hopes to discover why the British failed. These objectives lead to key problems of interpretation.

Among the crisscrossing relationships of 1797—the Directory, the legislature, Louis XVIII, the *émigrés*, the Austrians, the British, and General Bonaparte—much was at stake, but there is particular interest in the dilemma of the moderate Royalists. The elections of 1797 guaranteed their future, on paper, but in fact they were trapped between two kinds of illegal violence: the Fructidor *coup* against the legislature, predictable in the near future; and the only apparent means of contesting it, a *coup* against the Directory in the name of Louis XVIII. The Royalists remained divided and irresolute, Fructidor arrived, and the Directory was free to go on experimenting with its own version of counterrevolution backed by the military.

Mr. Mitchell's central theme of British policy and its execution is soundly developed with the aid of Wickham's correspondence and various archival and secondary sources needed to give it perspective. These materials, however, are less suited to the assessment of the failure of British policy. The difficulty lies in explaining the passivity of so many Royalists in the face of Fructidor. Mitchell's view is that British aid compromised the movement at its crisis point and, further, that the majority of Royalists within France could not tolerate the prospect of success for Louis XVIII and his entourage, whose *émigré* mentality was hopelessly out of touch with French realities. He is probably correct, and one might add that the intellectual history of the emigration could be used to strengthen his thesis, but where French responses to British policy are concerned his conclusions overreach his sources. The main parts of his book, however, will henceforth be indispensable.

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

THE GREAT MUTINY. By James Dugan. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1965. Pp. 511. \$6.95.)

IF history is written by men who have a reverence for accuracy and an understanding of the epoch they write about, then this book is not history. The author repeatedly sacrifices accuracy to literary color, and he unites exaggeration with dismaying ignorance. Thus he can explain a marked feature of French naval tactics as follows: "The frugal French went to the limit of delicacy—they aimed their cannons to bring down British top hamper, not to smash up stout hulls which would be costly to repair. The British, more of a berserker folk, aimed only for the hulls. . . ." It would be pointless to itemize the ways in which the author

misunderstands the condition of eighteenth-century Britain and its navy because no scholar will turn to this book for guidance on particular matters.

Can such a book contribute to historical knowledge? It can. The important question about the mutiny of 1797 concerns its cause. Was it a strike for higher pay and better conditions or was it born of the spirit of political radicalism? In 1913 Conrad Gill acknowledged that there had been a gradual decline in the seaman's real wage, but concluded that there had to be a triggering event and could see no other than radicalism. But his suggestion that the mutiny's leaders were landsmen infected by radicalism rested on scanty evidence. In 1935 G. E. Manwaring and B. Dobree pointed out that there was an important reason for sudden discontent among the seamen, namely that pay had recently been increased for other groups in the armed forces, but they hedged on their conclusions and entitled their book *The Floating Republic*. This book provoked two articles by D. Bonner Smith (*Mariner's Mirror*, XXI-XXII [1935-36]), articles that have apparently disappeared from sight. Bonner Smith argued that the mutiny was just a strike for higher pay and demonstrated how thoroughly the matter of pay preoccupied the seamen at the outset, but he did not deal directly with the question of political motivation.

It is here that Dugan's book makes a contribution. The mutiny's leaders are the main objects of his research. He has wisely chosen not to put words in their mouths, but to find out what they said. Although some of its sources are unreliable, the book provides a rich narrative of the mutiny and puts us close to the situation and thoughts of the mutineers. The impression we gain is that this was not a mutiny led by hotheaded landsmen, but by the regular leaders of the lower deck such as the captains of the tops. Dugan relegates formal discussion of this question to an appendix and even there ventures no conclusion. But his conclusion may be found in his narrative. This book, in spite of its opening chapters on "The Bastille" and "The Rights of Man," makes it harder than ever to believe that the new radicalism had much to do with the mutiny of 1797.

Princeton University

DANIEL A. BAUGH

GEORGE CANNING: THREE BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES. By P. J. V. Rolo. (London: Macmillan and Company; distrib. by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1965. Pp. ix, 276. \$7.50.)

Rolo's *George Canning* is not a definitive, nor even a consecutive, biography, but rather three "biographical studies" of Canning as a man, a politician, and a statesman; it is a form of organization that presents inevitable difficulties, though these are almost fully surmounted by the author's considerable narrative skill. Canning was a man of contradictions: denounced for his low birth as the son of an actress, he was yet a product of Eton and Christ Church and owed his first cabinet post to a marriage connection with a duke; lauded by "advanced" opinion, and regarded by the Radicals as one of their own, he came to his brief premiership in 1827 largely as the King's servant, on a program of opposition to parliamentary reform. Both Disraeli and Gladstone were to claim him as mentor.

Canning's biographer offers us a living being, a difficult enough task; he does not, however, provide a convincing interpretation of Canning's place in English

history, which might have linked man, politician, and statesman. Moreover, Rolo's conclusion that Canning earned the epithet "great" for his activities as Foreign Minister from 1822 to 1827 is undermined by a number of earlier implied judgments, which Rolo was too honest a historian to have omitted. Canning might indeed have had his moment of greatness had his intrigues, between 1809 and 1812, to secure supreme direction of the war against Napoleon been successful. Rolo writes of Canning as a "potential" Chatham or Churchill and convinces us that a man of Canning's industry, energy, and style might indeed have filled the void of statesmanship in the wars against Napoleon. What Rolo's fascinating narrative of Canning as politician also reveals is a narrow egotism and deviousness, reminiscent more of Lloyd George than the other war leaders, which caused Canning to defeat himself again and again, wasting all his opportunities.

Rolo does not fully appreciate that, on matters of policy, Canning's strengths and weaknesses both derived from his entrance into politics as a disciple of Pitt the Younger. From Pitt came his devotion to Catholic emancipation and his sympathy with the new economics. From Pitt also—the Pitt of the 1790's obsessed by a dread of Jacobinism—came that fear of sedition which led him to approve of Peterloo and to oppose parliamentary reform. In external policy as well, Pitt's spirit and example cannot be neglected. While most fairly noting that Canning's European policy was, in essence, little different from that of his predecessor Castlereagh, so hated by the Radicals, and also a Pittite, Rolo does not see Canning's Latin American and European policies as belonging to a century of decisions, based largely upon concern for England's maritime and commercial interests.

Canning succeeded, employing his customary devious tactics, by managing the monarch and thus frustrating the opposition of the ultras, in continuing the "liberal" foreign policy of a number of his predecessors; his particular triumph was to convince contemporary British opinion that his program constituted a *reversal* of past policy. This, however, seems an insufficient basis for the conclusion that he deserves the mantle of greatness.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

BERNARD SEMMEL

JOHN OWENS: MANCHESTER MERCHANT. By *B. W. Clapp*. ([Manchester:] Manchester University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 193. 37s.6d.)

JOHN OWENS, the founder of Owens College, which later became the University of Manchester, was head of the business firm of Owen Owens and Son. This book is primarily a history of the firm. Owen Owens, founder of the firm and father of John, was born in 1764 at Holywell in Flintshire. Early in his career Owen moved to Manchester, which was then becoming the center of the cotton trade. John, the only child to survive infancy, was born at Manchester in 1790. By the time John completed his elementary education his father had established a successful manufacturing business. John entered his father's business at the age of eighteen and became a partner at twenty-five. A few years later he assumed the responsibility of managing the firm and remained its head for eighteen years.

The firm passed through the several stages that characterized business enterprises in Manchester during the early decades of the Industrial Revolution. Its

operations passed from manufacturing to foreign trade and finally to financial speculation. It took the firm twenty years to become well established as a cotton manufacturer and twenty more years to acquire respectability in overseas commerce. Its durability was remarkable in a period of uncontrolled competition and of wide fluctuations in the trade cycles. It suffered losses during the panic of 1826 and the depression of 1837. The continued fall of commodity prices during the depression compelled the firm to withdraw from overseas trade and to reinvest its funds in railway shares. When Owens died in 1846 his firm had accumulated £160,000; his father's capital had been £5,000 forty years before. The combined talents of father and son had made the father a substantial merchant and the son a rich one.

In spite of Professor Clapp's efforts, the life of Owens remains hidden in the heavy ledgers that record his many business transactions. Rarely do we glimpse the real man. Like other businessmen of his age, he was frugal, honest, and diligent. Seldom did he cut short his working hours or take time off for a holiday. In politics he was both Whig and Radical, a member of the Manchester Reform Association and the Anti-Corn-Law League. He was a Dissenter in religion and a regular contributor to the local Lancastrian school. His modest contributions to charity, however, were no inkling of the generous bequest of £100,000 with which he endowed Owens College. Many students who have studied there will be grateful to Clapp for disclosing more about the founder of their college and the business conditions in which he prospered.

Lehigh University

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN ENGLISH POLITICS, 1815-1850. By *David Paul Crook*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 237. \$5.60.)

DURING the period of this study English readers were offered much politically oriented description and comment concerning the United States; Mr. Crook's work is primarily a study of this material. It examines thought and opinion, not politics in action. Taking some clues from the political scientists, the author has explored the variant views of America expressed among the several political groups and has shown with what consistency these presentations reflected the hopes and fears of the writers and, presumably, of their readers. Since he recognizes that the Radical admirers of the republic have already had their due, perhaps more than their due, from other scholars, Crook devotes much of his attention to three sets of commentators: Benthamites, Whigs, and Tories. The earlier Benthamites—distinguished not always successfully from "Radicals and Ultra-Radicals"—seem to him arid and doctrinaire in their use of America to promote their millennium. In the same period (before 1832) Tories opposing innovation in Britain adopted easily the narrow and splenetic tone of leading writers in the *Quarterly Review*. After 1832, however, the Benthamites, their main goal attained, became more critical of America, and the Tories more circumstantial and judicious in their steady opposition to democracy. But Crook's most original contribution is the attempt to demonstrate that there was a distinctively Whig approach to America. Using mainly the writers in the *Edinburgh Review*, he shows middle-of-the-way Whig attitudes as genuinely different both from Radical

approbation and Tory rejection. The Whig picture was more balanced, more pragmatic, more adjustable to changing topics of concern. Finally the author deals with the influence of Tocqueville on British thought, ascertaining once again that, in interpreting his great work, men with differing assumptions and prepossessions largely found what they wished.

Crook has tried to give his readers a sense of the importance of subjective stereotypes and of the complexity and ambivalence of English opinion about America. But this very task involved him in blurred lines and questionable classifications that make for difficult and even confusing reading. For example, were all contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* typically Whiggish? Is Nassau Senior a good sample of Whig thinking? Why do Richard Cobden and George Combe appear conspicuously in the chapter on Whiggery? In spite of such questions and in spite of some rather cumbrous verbosity in the early parts of the book, its careful use of its chosen materials is valuable in giving a new and more realistic perspective to the old question of the "influence" of the United States on Britain. And we may be grateful for the detailed tables of relevant articles in the reviews with their painstaking ascriptions of authorship.

Clark University

H. DONALDSON JORDAN

KNOX: THE ANATOMIST. By *Isobel Rae*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas. 1965. Pp. v, 164. \$6.50.)

ISOBEL Rae's biography of the nineteenth-century Scottish anatomist Robert Knox is a contribution to the history of medicine and science and, to a certain extent, also to the intellectual history of early Victorian England.

Seasoned by practical medical experience and broadened by contact with foreign countries, Knox began his successful career as doctor of anatomy, a career that lasted only from 1825 to 1829. His hopes to discover the origin of life and to detect the laws of organic life through a thorough study of anatomy were rudely shattered when Edinburgh police discovered the body of an old woman in his School of Anatomy in 1828. The woman had been murdered by two depraved slum dwellers in Edinburgh, and the corpse delivered for a good price to the unsuspecting Knox. This ended the anatomical career of Knox who had attracted hundreds of pupils and who had shown promise of becoming one of the great anatomists of Scotland.

The pathos of Knox's life lends itself superbly to a dramatization of several themes: the undeserved suffering of the innocent and upright Knox, the scholar, Nonconformist, and victim of the envy and hatred of his medical colleagues; the hopeless task he faced in trying to overcome the Philistine prejudice and hypocrisy of the good citizens of Edinburgh who condemned the science of anatomy because it contributed to the despicable trade of the body snatchers; the exposition of the lowly state of medicine in Scotland prior to the Act of 1858 which introduced provisions for the better regulation of the discipline at the universities of Scotland.

Rae aimed at a reassessment and a re-evaluation of the facts that led to Knox's tragic life. In spite of the variety of nineteenth- and twentieth-century writings on Knox, Rae undertook her task of presenting the tragic hero to the contemporary

world. This book, while not less sympathetic with its hero than previous biographies, is more restrained in its praise of Knox, carefully evaluating his weaknesses as a human being. Yet, with the wealth of sources at her disposal, the author has missed the opportunity to integrate her portrait of Knox into the broader framework of early Victorian life. Even without these broader perspectives, however, Rae's book is a solid account of the frustrations and disappointments that a medical innovator was bound to endure in Scotland in the early nineteenth century.

University of Hartford

ANN BECK

INTELLECTUALS IN POLITICS: JOHN STUART MILL AND THE PHILOSOPHIC RADICALS. By *Joseph Hamburger*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 14.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 308. \$7.50.)

In his earlier volume, *James Mill and the Art of Revolution*, Professor Hamburger described the role of the Philosophic Radicals in the passage of the Reform Act of 1832. His main thesis, persuasively argued and documented, was that their threat of violence and revolution was a calculated bluff, a threat they neither intended nor desired to carry out, and that their strategy succeeded not because everyone was taken in by the bluff, but because some politicians, recognizing it as such, chose to submit to it for tactical reasons of their own.

The present volume, in contrast to the first, is a study in the failure of strategy. In the decade following the Reform Act the cast of characters was largely the same, except that John Stuart Mill was now in the starring role; the drama revolved about the attempt of the Radicals to create an independent party in Parliament. The fatal flaw, the cause of the tragedy (the earlier volume had moments of high comedy in the intricacies of dissimulation and machination), was ideology—a doctrinaireism that pervaded not only the ends of political activity, the doctrine or program of the party, but the means as well, the party organization itself. The familiar ideological identification of party and program was expressed in Mill's assertion that since only the Radicals had a grasp "both of absolute truth and of adaptation to the particular wants of the time," they alone were "the visible instruments and the only apparent agents" of genuine reform.

Hamburger has described this situation with a precision and clarity that historians and political scientists may well envy. In his absorption in the present subject, however, he has unfortunately neglected to relate it to the earlier one—to explain, that is, why the Radical strategy succeeded in the first case and not in the second. Was it that the ideology had become so much more rigid and petrified under the aegis of John Stuart Mill than of James Mill? James Mill, to be sure, as Hamburger has so well shown, had a highly developed sense of the distinction between the private and the public, between what was true and what was expedient, and had no scruples about acting on that distinction, whereas his son was notably thin skinned, strait laced, and high minded. Yet the son was also, and particularly at this time, far less ideology-ridden than the father, far less committed either to the doctrine or to the party of the Philosophic Radicals.

There is another open question. In his admirable reconstruction of the ideological politics of the Radicals, Hamburger may have unwittingly belittled the

ideological nature of their philosophy. There is no substantive analysis of their theory of government or principle of utility, no sustained analysis of the relationship between the philosophy and the radicalism in Philosophic Radicalism. It may be his preoccupation with the two Mills to the exclusion of Bentham that accounts for such curious understatements as that Philosophic Radicalism was "based on James Mill's political ideas and these owed a great deal to Jeremy Bentham," or that John Stuart Mill "did not deny all influence to Bentham." A closer examination of the philosophy developed by Bentham, adopted by James Mill, and adapted by John Stuart Mill might have shown it to be considerably more influential, more comprehensive, and less benign than is assumed here. Such a philosophical examination might also have suggested an emendation in the title of this work. The theme is not so much "Intellectuals in Politics" as "Ideologues in Politics."

Brooklyn College

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB

VICTORIAN OXFORD. By *W. R. Ward*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1965. Pp. xv, 431. \$13.50.)

THE history of the University of Oxford in the nineteenth century is a confused and forbidding one, involving a gradual and complete reform of the university from its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century character. It was an incredibly somnolent and hidebound institution with a limited classical curriculum and indolent and often ignorant tutors, with its professorships lapsed and a dearth of students (only one-half of the number that attended in 1612), with a fanatical determination to preserve the traditional connection with the Anglican ascendancy, with its rich endowments lavished upon a handful of badly chosen fellows (often absentee), and, overall, the ill-balanced pre-eminence of the colleges with their out-moded statutes all but overshadowing entirely the university proper.

The story of Oxford's reform is a long-drawn-out and wearisome one, full of frustrations, resistance, obstructions, complications, and false starts, which does not make for easy reading. To tell this story required an enormous expenditure of effort in research—through university archives, private letters, periodicals, and parliamentary records covering the part played by innumerable men and factions—and an even greater exercise of intellectual energy in grasping the problems, people, arguments, and cross relationships involved. It is a real triumph of research. Indeed, Mr. Ward has covered this material with such meticulousness that it seems the task will never have to be done again, and it is hard to imagine a later scholar having the courage to rival the achievement, as Ward has superseded Charles Malet's earlier account in the latter's *History of the University of Oxford*, Volume III.

Such a book could not be expected to be readable or interesting in the usual sense, but it might have been made more useful for ready research if some of the information had been made available in a series of appendixes covering the gradual steps to reform in various fields such as examinations, election to fellowships, removal of religious tests, revision of curriculum, development of university commissions, reorganization of the relationship of colleges and university and their governing bodies, instead of relying on the index. (Incidentally, a number of items

such as fellowships, university commissions, or curriculum do not appear at all in the index.) A recapitulatory paragraph from time to time would also serve to keep the reader from being smothered in detail.

Madeira School

MILLCENT BARTON REX

GOVERNMENT AND THE RAILWAYS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN. By *Henry Parris*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 243. \$5.75.)

Dr. Parris traces the growth of government regulation of British railways from 1840 to 1868. In a final chapter he sums up developments during the period 1868-1914.

Government regulation of railways in Great Britain began with the establishment of the Board of Trade Railway Department in 1840. Obviously railways tended, by their very nature, to be monopolistic, and competition could not be relied upon as the motive force or "invisible hand" to function for the general welfare. Hence, as Peel assured the House of Commons, although "no one was more adverse to any general interference with the employment of capital than he was," the bill was necessary to protect the public.

The Act of 1840 was "part of a general trend towards the intervention of governments in more and more branches of natural life." When this trend was interrupted during a comparative twenty-year lull from 1846 to 1867, railway regulatory legislation was not excepted, despite the decrease in ideological resistance to such legislation. The author attributes the inactivity during this period to the Conservative split following the repeal of the corn laws and the "reversion to a situation more closely resembling the eighteenth century, in which the House of Commons had been dominated by groups rather than parties." The opposition of any determined group was able to hold up legislation.

The railways found, however, that while there was no significant increase in legal power to regulate them, there was a growth of administrative power, and the Railway Department learned to exercise this power "more and more effectively." Despite the patronage system, the permanent officials were "models of ability, industry, and integrity," and the railways found it "normally cheaper" to adopt their "suggestions."

Although the author paints a happy picture, with proverbial British common sense and good sportsmanship prevailing in the relations between the regulatory agency and the railways, the public and the railway employees had to wait until a later date to receive much benefit. The railroads were largely able to weigh the "cost of acquiescence" against "the cost of resistance." With the financial balance sheet of the railways as the chief determinant, the interests of manufacturers, farmers, traders, railway employees, and the general public were considered last, if at all. Parris states that when their rates were restricted by law the railways "naturally" tried to keep their costs, "notably their labor costs," down. He admits, however, that the railways always displayed a "traditional reluctance" to increase wages, improve conditions, or recognize organized labor. Even before the beginning of rate regulation, "overwork" was "widespread and systematic." When

maximum rates were fixed by law, the railways immediately increased their tariffs to the maximum.

Developments are traced carefully, but it is difficult to agree with Parris when he sees the "fundamental pattern" as "one of emerging partnership between government and railways." What is clearer is a picture of government striving, rather belatedly, to restrain the industry's "natural" and understandable quest for maximum profits regardless of social costs.

Brooklyn College

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON. By *Jo Manton*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1965. Pp. 382. \$5.95.)

THAT the size of the theater has nothing to do with the significance of the play applies no less to history than to drama. A village Hampden may reveal as much about the central issues of the day as a parliamentary one, but the historian must make sure that he is studying a village Hampden, not Aunt Sallie's cousin whose fame is wholly apocryphal. This account of England's first woman doctor illuminates much more than the central theme, important though that is. Indeed, it could scarcely avoid doing so. Elizabeth Anderson (1836-1917) was so many firsts: the first woman M.D. in France, the first woman to be elected to a school board, the founder of the first hospital staffed by women, the first woman dean of a medical school, and Britain's first woman mayor. Withal she was wife and mother. How could she do so much so well? The answer is plain. She had character as well as ability; that is to say, she had judgment, devotion, courage, taste, and that useful commodity, money.

Several members of her family, one of those evangelical, self-reliant, public-spirited families that created nineteenth-century England, matched her achievement. The best known, her sister Millicent, wife of Henry Fawcett, courageously and ably promoted women's rights. One must also remember their father, who started as a London pawnbroker and prospered in diverse ways, including election as mayor of Aldeburg, but his character was most important—courageous, independent, innovating, whether in business or in supporting his daughters' aspirations. Such people had many associates, equally strong willed and pioneering. Of them it is sufficient to mention tactful Emily Davies, founder of Girton College, and difficult, aggressive Sophia Jex-Blake whose personality was as hyphenated as her name.

Except for a few able and powerful allies, Elizabeth Anderson found the medical profession, young, old, and peripheral, entrenched against her. Its members stood on the assumption that it had been a great mistake to admit Eve to the Garden and that everything that had happened since proved it. No technicality was too trivial, no stratagem too devious, to obstruct the path of this persistent woman. Yet her struggle never turned her into a fanatic. She had time for many people and many interests. Her career had wit and humanity as well as instruction, and the account of it is delightful both in itself and in the telling.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND THE COMING OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR. By *Richard Millman*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 238. \$5.60.)

IN his preface to this excellent monograph Richard Millman rightly remarks that "British foreign policy from the latter part of Palmerston's career to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 has not been thoroughly investigated." Nothing has been written about this period to compare with the studies of Webster and Temperley on the achievements and failures of Castlereagh, Canning, and the early years of the march of Palmerston. Millman's competent study fills several gaps in our knowledge of the history of British foreign policy in the mid-Victorian period. It also contains many informed and shrewd comments about the manner in which British foreign policy was shaped and applied.

Millman's book is the result of long and careful research in the Public Record Office, the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, and elsewhere. He has studied many sources, including the Cardwell, Clarendon, Derby, Disraeli, Gladstone, Granville, Lyons, Russell, and Stanley Papers.

In the years that followed the Age of Palmerston Britain was increasingly reluctant to commit itself on the Continent. Millman's first chapter ("The Fall from the Pinnacle") explains the reasons Britain played a minor part in the disputes about Schleswig, Holstein, and Venetia in 1866. "Ours will be a pacific policy," said Lord Stanley, "a policy of observation rather than action." The policy of Lord Clarendon and his colleagues failed in the Austro-Prussian crisis of 1866. After Sadowa Britain was content to see the rise of Prussia to balance the strength of France and Russia. Meanwhile Napoleon III sought compensation after the Austro-Prussian conflict and tried to obtain the grand duchy of Luxembourg from the Netherlands. The long negotiations, carefully described by Millman, ran into the sands. The result was the London Conference, collective guarantees of the neutrality of Luxembourg, and disputes about the meaning of the guarantees. Meanwhile, too, a revolt against Ottoman rule erupted in Crete, and Britain refused to put pressure on the Turks. Then and later the British government "successfully defended British interests on the Continent by restricting their scope."

Probably the best parts of Millman's book are those about Britain's activities and interests in the complicated problems of Belgium and the Belgian railways (Chapter vi) and "The Balance of Power and the Hohenzollerns" (Chapter ix). They should be read by all students of nineteenth-century European history.

We all regret that some monographs are unnecessary scribbles on the margins of history. This book, in contrast, is really important, a considerable achievement indeed.

Wayne State University

GOLDWIN SMITH

THE EDUCATION OF A NAVY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH NAVAL STRATEGIC THOUGHT, 1867-1914. By *D. M. Schurman*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. 213. \$5.50.)

THE author tells the story of six naval historians, nonacademics by training, "who in something under fifty years changed British naval history from a patriotic

antiquarian pastime into a serious academic occupation, with rules, standards, and techniques of its own." The six, some of whom were as much propagandists as they were historians, are Captain Sir John Colomb, his brother Vice-Admiral Philip Colomb, Mahan, Sir John Laughton, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, and Sir Julian Corbett. What they had in common was a conviction that the naval past could reveal guiding principles for the present.

The title is misleading: the Royal Navy was far from having been well educated by 1914, as the title may imply, and one of the "educators," Richmond, did nearly all his publishing in the post-World War I generation. A number of the judgments could be challenged. One could also fairly criticize the style, which is not always clear. The pluses, happily, easily outweigh the minuses. The work is the first of its kind—a thoroughly researched job that needed doing and that will not have to be done again in our time. It is based on the writings of the six, the other relevant printed sources, and a selective use of manuscript collections, notably the Richmond Papers of early vintage and the Corbett Papers. The volume has three main facets: the formative biographical influences, which are competently sketched; the principal writings of the six, which are brilliantly analyzed and appraised; and the plenitude of fresh insights, which are often thought provoking, above all in the Richmond and Corbett chapters.

The author's main conclusion comes perforce as an anticlimax. The pioneer naval historians did succeed admirably in transforming British naval history, yet the result of their labors, when measured by the influence they had on the conduct of the two great wars of this century, was surprisingly slight. One misses a full discussion of why this was so. Professor Schurman has given us a useful and stimulating work. Though addressed to naval historians and to "people concerned with the formulation and exposition of military policy," I suspect that, like the work of the six, it will prove of greater value to the historian.

University of California, Irvine

ARTHUR MARDER

EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, 1870-1920. By Brian Simon. [Studies in the History of Education.] (London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1965. Pp. 387. 50s.)

CONSIDERING the breadth and complexity of the material with which he deals, Brian Simon is more successful than one might have expected in this successor volume to his *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*. At the least he is interesting, and at best illuminating, as he charts the course of working-class education in the fifty years from 1870. His title is somewhat misleading: this is not, as it suggests, primarily a study in political attitudes and action, although Simon makes it a point to cover the positions on education of the various organized groups within the Labour movement: the early Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour party, the Labour party, and the Trades Union Congress. But he is using "Labour Movement" in its broadest sense, virtually as a synonym for the working class as a whole. "Education" is meant very broadly also, taking in not only the education of the working-class young but also of their elders. Indeed some of Simon's most rewarding pages have to do with adult education, and it is impressive, and saddening, to read of the lengths, often ingenuous

and sometimes desperate, to which, in the earlier period, the working class had to resort in order to learn anything at all. One might wish that Simon had organized all this material more rigorously. At the beginning of his study he is concerned chiefly with adult education; thereafter with the education of children, the effects of the Acts of 1870 and 1902, and the efforts of the working class to achieve a minimal secondary education; finally he returns to the adults. The result is an occasional diffuseness and tendentiousness, perhaps unavoidable in so wide-ranging a study.

What gives the book coherence is Simon's Marxist point of view: education in Britain during the period is seen in terms of class differences and privilege. He argues that the elementary schools operated on the basis of the 1870 Act were "specifically designed to discourage all initiative, to develop habits of obedience, docility, and passivity." And while he admits that under this act there were efforts, especially on the part of some school boards, to make more secondary education available to the working class, he contends that these efforts were effectively undercut by the Act of 1902. If this is not the whole story, it is still illuminating to have the 1902 Act discussed, not, as it frequently is, with regard to its religious implications, but rather as it represents (in Simon's eyes) an attempt to protect the secondary schools from a massive entrance of the working class. The heart of the argument is more humanitarian than ideological and can be summed up as the struggle between "right" and "patronage." The English system will almost always allow impressive talent to rise from below, but it is to rise "individually" into a middle-class world. School fees will be waived for the talented working-class child, but his education is seen (from above) as a favor bestowed, rather than something to which he has as much right as the child of the middle or the upper class. This concept of "patronage" has only recently begun to die. It still survives in the notion that all will be well with the public schools if they simply will increase the number of scholarships they bestow upon the worthy poor, but otherwise remain as they were. In fact, at every point the established system is willing to adapt itself to change, so long as it can keep itself fundamentally unchanged. As Simon quotes Edward Thring, the famous Headmaster of Uppingham: "It is necessary to jump in these jumping days."

Harvard University

PETER STANSKY

THE BRADLAUGH CASE: A STUDY IN LATE VICTORIAN OPINION AND POLITICS. By *Walter L. Arnstein*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 348. \$8.00.)

ONE of the most vexatious problems of Gladstone's second ministry (1880-1885) was the Bradlaugh case. Professor Arnstein's history of the case now provides "a multidimensional portrayal of the impact of the case upon the various political parties and personalities" and an explanation of how the Irish question and Victorian radicalism affected Bradlaugh's struggle to enter Parliament. Drawing on a vast array of manuscript collections and other primary sources, Arnstein presents a succinct portrait of Bradlaugh's life to the time of his election as M.P. for Northampton in 1880 and then offers a close analysis of his struggle to take his seat in the Commons. It is a tale of mistakes, political opportunism, intolerance, and

stupidity that involved Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Randolph Churchill, Cardinal Manning, and the artful Labouchere. In some ways Bradlaugh, already suspect because of his republicanism and views on birth control, muddied the waters by his request to substitute a "freethinker's" affirmation for the prescribed oath and by an open letter to the *Times* (May 21, 1880) explaining his position. Arnstein deftly traces the consequences of the letter and demonstrates that "for most M.P.'s the key issue involved was [now] not constitutional technicalities but Bradlaugh's alleged avowal of opinions . . . out of harmony with those of the majority of his countrymen."

When Bradlaugh was finally seated in Parliament on July 2, 1880, he proved himself a conscientious Radical M.P. much in advance of the Liberal party. But his brief and exemplary interlude in the Commons was all too soon obscured by the revival of the struggle over "The Question of the Oath." Arnstein's account of what followed—the unseating of Bradlaugh, his re-election and expulsion in 1881, and subsequent re-elections and exclusions in 1882, 1883, and 1884 until, after his election in 1885, he was finally permitted to take his seat in 1886—is explained in great detail. The chapters dealing with "The Great Crusade," "Gladstone as Advocate," and "Bradlaugh as Secularist and Politician" are excellent; that on Cardinal Manning is not quite as good. Manning was certainly "a politician by instinct," but he was not the villain that, I think, Arnstein implies he was in the Bradlaugh case. On the other hand, Arnstein's analysis of "The Role of the Irish Nationalists" and of the enigmatic Parnell in the case is more convincing than that of Conor Cruise O'Brien.

Arnstein's "Summing Up" of the case might well serve as a model for similar studies. This definitive work on the subject, although sometimes didactic in style, is enriched by an excellent bibliography and serviceable indexes.

University of Mississippi

JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

FROM THE DREADNOUGHT TO SCAPA FLOW: THE ROYAL NAVY IN THE FISHER ERA, 1904-1919. Volume II, THE WAR YEARS: TO THE EVE OF JUTLAND. By *Arthur J. Marder*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 466. \$14.00.)

ARTHUR Marder's unrivaled knowledge of the Royal Navy in the Fisher era is further brilliantly placed before us in the second of the four volumes on the navy between the advent of Fisher as First Sea Lord and the scuttling at Scapa Flow in 1919 of the German fleet of his rival Tirpitz. This is by no means an over-all history of the Royal Navy at war, but rather a study concentrating upon the Admiralty and the problems of command. Actions at sea are dealt with in taut descriptions that merely sketch in their developments as background for the problems of command and the way in which the Admiralty met them. Marder sensibly states in his preface that he leaves the details to Corbett and Newbolt in their official volumes. The development of technical material is skimmed while the rise of naval aviation, which really was not effective until 1918, is put off to Volume IV. Essentially Marder is dealing with the functioning of a human mechanism or organization that had enjoyed an unchallenged existence for over a century. His work sympathetically reveals the confusions that arose from the failure to have a

war staff, from failures to explain what was desired, from misinterpretation and misunderstanding on the parts of admirals and others. Even such a pre-eminent light cruiser commodore as Goodenough could on occasion mistake a misdirected signal and break off an engagement because he was not sure what was uppermost in his admiral's mind. The confusion that occasionally developed was due in part also to the fact that the Sea Lords had never had their place in the operational hierarchy established. In general only the First Sea Lord and the occupant of the newly established post of chief of staff handled these matters. Moreover, the advent of wireless and of direction finding, which enabled Room 40 to function so efficiently in collecting and analyzing naval intelligence, for the first time enabled the Admiralty to exercise operational control over fleets at sea. But, as Marder shows, this was such a recent phenomenon that its use was not always well handled because it was not always understood. In the course of his fluid exposition, we are often given vivid pictures of the leading individuals either in their own words, in Fisher's, or in the salty prose of Marder himself.

Any reviewer given one volume of a series that is as yet incomplete is always in a difficult position. He may realize or may know what is still to come, or he may not. Under these circumstances, he is faced with the problem of deciding what criticisms he should make in the light of what he knows. In the case at hand, fortunately, it is possible to note that the third volume will be published on the fiftieth anniversary of Jutland (May 31, 1966). The fourth and final volume will appear somewhat later. Not only will it conclude the war, but it will contain reflections and bibliography. In the two volumes released so far the footnotes and bibliographical references, though kept to a respectable minimum, already provide a useful guide to official and private sources. Moreover, by the time the final volume appears, the fifty-year rule will have rolled back so that the whole of the official archives on the First World War will, if they have not been destroyed, be available. With the benefit of the Marder volumes scholars will then be able to undertake a number of useful studies on the technological development of the navy, a subject which Marder understands, but for which he has not room.

All in all, the second volume of *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow* follows the fine tradition established by the author's *Anatomy of British Sea Power* of 1940.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

ENGLISH HISTORY, 1914-1945. By A. J. P. Taylor. [The Oxford History of England, Volume XV.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 708. \$9.75.)

It is revealing no secret to observe that for many years Mr. Taylor has been writing history that is meant to be read. When he settles down, moreover, to do a professional job, the result can be a noteworthy achievement—well informed, critical, brilliantly written, and contentious enough to exorcise the curse of learned dullness. This study finds him in top form. It is an impressive account of a period that saw the English having to adjust their patterns of life to a world order that they only partly understood, a period that is memorable alike for their follies and futilities and for their collective heroism.

Taylor's book will, of course, take its place at once as a distinguished contribution to recent English history (though it does not make C. L. Mowat's admirable *Britain between the Wars* superfluous). Beginning on August 4, 1914, "almost at the hour, 11 p.m.," and continuing, less precisely, to the summer of 1945, he covers a span of thirty-one years, during twenty-nine of which the country was involved either in world wars or in a desperate struggle against mass unemployment. It was an age without a clear sense of direction and without leaders who could chart one. During the 1920's and up to September 1931, the themes were reconstruction, restoration, recovery; the model was the state of things in 1914, surely a mirage in the new postwar world. The heart of Britain's problem was plainly economic. And the real obstacle to recovery and the re-employment of the unemployed was simply the continued pre-eminence of the old export staples—coal, cotton, wool, and ships—which the world did not want more of, whatever the price. After 1931, the watershed of the interwar period, the magic word became "planning": a planned economy, planning for peace, and the rest. But in spite of all the talk of planning and of the measures devised by the government, these had little to do with British recovery, which, one sometimes forgets, came in the late 1930's and in 1937 carried production to an all-time high.

In the main, this is a book without heroes, though some of the figures emerge looking larger, some smaller, than one would have expected. Lloyd George, despite his deviousness and unscrupulousness, was the most inspired and creative British statesman of the twentieth century; with all his faults, MacDonald must be considered the greatest leader Labour has had; Sir John Simon, lacking "the air of puzzled rectitude which enabled a Grey or a Halifax to lapse from the highest moral standards without anybody complaining or even noticing," was simply too cool and rational to be a Foreign Secretary; and Air Marshal Dowding of the Fighter Command, whom a grateful government promptly relieved of his command and ticketed for oblivion, was the man who, operationally, was responsible for victory in the Battle of Britain. Conversely, Curzon "lacked resolution, despite his rigid appearance" (Would Indians who knew him as Viceroy agree with this judgment?), and was a born ratter; Keynes's prescription was wrong for Britain; Beveridge's plan came forty years too late, when abject poverty and unemployment had ceased to be issues; and Churchill, whom Taylor handles fairly but not idolatrously, rose to power on the failure of the Norwegian campaign, which, ironically enough, he had had more to do with planning than had Chamberlain.

Diplomatic historians, I suspect, will have their criticisms of Taylor's treatment of certain aspects of Britain's foreign affairs, and Americans their moments of unhappiness over his obvious lack of enthusiasm for American policy at some points. The domestic material—political, social, and economic—is capital, and Taylor's judgments are always challenging and, more often than not, convincing—perhaps an argument for getting the able historian away from his narrow specialty. He has an acute critical intelligence and an impulse to disagree with accepted views. Sometimes this instinct has led him into trouble. Here it has served him well. On nearly every page one encounters a revealing characterization, a provocative observation, a crackling footnote. Sometimes, to be sure, his estimates are so markedly personal as to seem deliberately wayward, as when he

finds Charlie Chaplin likely to be "remembered when England's writers, statesmen, scientists are forgotten, as timeless as Shakespeare and as great." Still, with its occasional perversities—in part, because of them—this is vintage Taylor.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION OF 1964. By *D. E. Butler* and *Anthony King*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 401. \$9.00.)

THE scientific study of elections—psephology—provides an instance of the extent to which the social sciences may affect the situations that they attempt to analyze. The excellent Nuffield College series on British elections, which has produced a study of each election since 1945, reflects in the most recent volume the growing importance of public opinion polls and an increasingly scientific approach to party "images" and public relations in the calculations of politicians for which such studies as these are in part responsible. The volume on the election of 1964 is more ambitious than its predecessors both in attempting to analyze the influence of these and other factors in the formation of party strategy and in placing its impressive collection of data concerning candidates, issues, mass mediums, and results against the background of a brief but competent history of developments within the three parties between 1959 and 1964. Extensive and systematic interviewing of party officials and candidates made possible an evaluation of the actual functioning of party machinery and provided as much information about the inner history of party decisions during the campaign as is likely to be available to the contemporary historian.

The authors refrain from any broad explanation of the outcome of the election; their findings serve rather to correct some erroneous impressions. The race issue, so publicized in the American press, proves to have been of negligible importance in all but one or two constituencies. An analysis of regional patterns indicates that Conservative ministers were not less popular with the voters than Conservative candidates generally. The concentration of Liberal victories along the "Celtic fringe" suggests that the Liberal revival was a result less of the emergence of a new social group than of a reassertion of traditional voting patterns. The belief that either television or expensive public relations campaigns can decisively affect the outcome of an election is regarded with skepticism, and the limitations of polls as guides to electoral success are pointed out. It would seem that the more precise our knowledge of elections and voting behavior, the more complex the process appears to be and the more difficult generalization becomes. Students of postwar British politics will be grateful, however, for the wealth of precise information that this volume provides on the political behavior of Britons in 1964.

Notre Dame College of Staten Island

CATHERINE ANN CLINE

ROGER BOYLE, FIRST EARL OF ORRERY. By *Kathleen M. Lynch*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 308. \$7.50.)

ONE puts down this book full of admiration for the diligence of the author in ferreting out the minutiae of the life of the first Earl of Orrery, and of regret at what can only be regarded as wasted effort. Orrery himself was not a particularly

significant political figure, save in respect to Ireland. He was the son of Strafford's great opponent, the Earl of Cork, and his family was deeply involved in the Serbonian Bog of Irish politics. Nothing would have been more welcome than a thorough account of Irish political and social history in the years of Orrery's active career, from the 1640's to the 1670's, but this Professor Lynch has not chosen to give us. What we do get is superficial coverage of Orrery's political career, with all of the difficult problems simply skimmed. For instance, after the Restoration Orrery was deeply involved in the clarification of the Irish Act of Settlement known as the Act of Explanation. It would be difficult to know, from this account, what the terms of the acts were, much less Orrery's role in the process of clarification.

Lynch's academic pursuit is English literature rather than history; so perhaps it is unkind to criticize her failure to deal with problems whose complexity has caused more heavily armed scholars to shy away. Her chapters on Orrery's literary activity are the most interesting in the book. What they show, unfortunately, is that Orrery was a literary third-rater whose ideas were derivative and whose verse at its best barely rose to the level of mediocrity. His plays gather dust, and deservedly.

The book itself could have used much more pruning and editing; we are occasionally told more than we want to know about Orrery's doings. The author's methodology does not always command confidence. Orrery's first biographer, the gossip Thomas Morrice, is relied upon too heavily, and it is doubtful practice, at best, to quote as evidence of Orrery's standing at court in the winter of 1664-1665 a letter written by Ralph Montagu from Paris under greatly changed circumstances in 1669. In brief, this is a disappointing book, and the publisher, a university press, should not have put the footnotes in the back of the book.

University of Illinois

MAURICE LEE, JR.

CORRESPONDANCE DE THÉODORE DE BÈZE. Volume IV (1562-1563).

Collected by *Hippolyte Aubert*. Published by *Henri Meylan et al.* [Société du Musée historique de la Réformation. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume LXXIV.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 315.)

THIS volume carries one step closer to realization the formidable enterprise of a critical edition of the correspondence of Theodore Beza. The editors are again Henri Meylan and Alain Dufour, who enjoyed the able collaboration of Arnaud Tripet. Though most of the letters have been published elsewhere, available manuscripts often permit an improvement of formerly printed texts. And, as in the previous volumes of this series, the scholarly elucidations of the editors often exceed in length the text of the letters.

Volume IV centers on the first War of Religion in France. Throughout this volume Beza emerges as the indefatigable champion of "la Cause." At peace he restrains the impatient; at war he exhorts the timid. And at all times he is the defender of orthodoxy, whether against Brenz and ubiquity, on the one hand, or Castellio and the anti-Trinitarians, on the other.

It is almost vain to single out particular missives for comment. Of curious interest might be a letter of Calvin, reproaching Beza for employing arguments

from patristics in the St. Germain Colloquy on icons. Beza assured him that this was an indispensable instrument of dialogue, and the affection between the two was unabated. It is also interesting that, despite the near miracle of mobilization, a harried Beza had much to say about "the incredible procrastination" of the "stupid and sordid" among his party. Perhaps the most notable piece in the volume is a letter of Beza to Grataroli, requesting a work of the Aristotelian, Pietro Pomponazzi. This reinforces a recent suggestion that Beza may be the first Protestant Scholastic. The editors modestly solicit the verification of a specialist.

The scholarship of the editors is as thoroughgoing as it is exacting. Among their valuable appendixes, for example, they publish a list somehow found in the British Museum of the Huguenot gentlemen who rallied to the colors at Orléans in April 1562. Of the sixty-eight names, they have managed to identify all but three. Any criticisms are only bagatelles. The editors appear somewhat ambiguous in considering the cardinal of Lorraine at Saverne. Though he was "perhaps sincere," the Guises had "their heads full of bloody designs that they would execute at Vassy." The latter is, of course, a point about which much has been written, but it may be noteworthy that the late Paul F. Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze* (1949), himself failed to subscribe to the thesis of premeditation. These remarks are as nothing considered against the massive scholarship of this work. The editors have again produced a learned labor of love.

University of Nebraska

DONALD G. NUGENT

OPPOSITION TO LOUIS XIV: THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Lionel Rothkrug*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 533. \$12.50.)

BASED largely on fresh archival data and rarely consulted contemporary writings, Lionel Rothkrug's *Opposition to Louis XIV* is a vigorously expounded, challenging, and original work. It at once blasts its way through prevailing interpretations and adds new dimensions to our understanding of the forces for and against the mercantilist absolutism of Louis XIV.

The author's thesis, put in its simplest terms and far from doing justice to the symphonic tone of his presentation, is twofold: First, for well over a century, and going back to the late 1500's, speculative thinkers were engaged in a sharply couched intellectualist controversy; arguments pro and con over the mercantilist creed were penetrated by conflicting philosophical, religious, and scientific concepts; those concepts, involving the nature of society, the structure of the cosmos, and the characteristics of the human soul, established a fundamental dichotomy between opposing spokesmen. Second, by the 1690's and under such conditions external to the history of ideas as governmental uncertainty and breakdown, economic depression, and defeat in war, these old currents of speculation merged with newer ones and were transformed into political doctrines; widely diffused and accepted, those doctrines were used to justify both criticism and a reform movement, becoming a point of departure for the rise of purely secular ideologies characteristic of the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment.

In Part One, "Prelude to Reform, 1576-1684," Rothkrug subsumes the speculative dissent under two related headings: moral-religious protest and Christian humanist criticism. Beginning during Colbert's ministry and increasing ardently

after his death, this dissent and these many-sided protests, which he labels "aristocratic critique," were transformed first into bitter public criticism and finally into political opposition. The change, he argues in the lengthier second part, "The Movement for Reform, 1684-1700," resulted from the interjection of specific economic, social, and political grievances. While those grievances were voiced most vigorously in the ultimate stages of the movement by the merchant interests, in point of time they were concurrent with or immediately preceded by two fresh expressions of the aristocratic opposition. These expressions of Christian agrarianism and secular utilitarianism were then merged, most notably in Boisguilbert's *Détail de la France*. They also provided the bases for the powerful aristocratic reform movement of which Fénelon, Chevreuse, and Beauvillier were the leaders. Finally, though government spokesmen hit back in the domain of thought and the government itself counterattacked in the realm of policy against Fénelon, the aggrieved merchants belatedly entered the lists. Their entry decisively altered the balance of forces, the nature of the conflict, and the characteristics of the arguments. Not only did the numbers of the opposition swell outside and within the administration, but, more important, the now predominantly secular and anti-Christian doctrines were so widely diffused and accepted that Rothkrug can say that the French Enlightenment was in several respects a direct outgrowth of this final stage of the confrontation.

To comment on this bare summary of the substance of the book: On the side of shortcomings, more careful editing would have excised much needless repetition. The categories of dissent, for all the author's qualifications, tend to take on too schematic a character. Little-known figures, such as Belesbat and Lartigue, are squeezed, it seems, too hard to elicit conclusions not clearly present in the evidence itself. On occasion the meticulous analyses on several layers taxed or even overtaxed at least one reader's concentration. These shortcomings, which other readers may not be conscious of, are minor, probably little more than inverted expressions of the author's ardor. The virtues of Rothkrug's study far outweigh them. He has added to our knowledge and presented for our consideration an extraordinary body of new data. On the basis of this fresh material the meaning and the place of mercantilist and antimercantilist doctrines in seventeenth-century philosophical and religious speculation are greatly expanded and illuminated. The speculation is not only linked to what went before and projected to what came later; in its ultimate formulation the author puts the origin of the Enlightenment solidly on native political and social grounds, on broader bases than provided in some respects by Sagnac, Pagès, Hazard, and Mornet. Thus, to the already earnest disputation of scholars over the nature, extent, and depth of the opposition to Louis XIV, Rothkrug has added new aspects of the problem. This major study cannot be ignored.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

RICHELIEU: BEHAUPTUNG DER MACHT UND KALTER KRIEG. By
Carl J. Burckhardt. (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey. 1965. Pp. 499.
DM 29.50.)

THIS is the second volume of Carl J. Burckhardt's projected three-volume study of Cardinal Richelieu. The first volume, *Richelieu: Der Aufstieg zur Macht*, ap-

peared in 1935 and examined the many episodes and crises that beset Richelieu in his rise to power through the famous Day of Dupes. Although the earlier work was marred by digressions and inaccuracies, most of which were removed in later English translations, it had the merit of giving a dramatic account of a single major theme. In this volume Burckhardt extends his treatment both in time and space since he believes that once Richelieu gained control of both foreign and domestic policy his field of operations was Europe-wide. This requires the author to abandon the biographical framework and to treat a greater variety of subjects. After analyzing Richelieu's *Avis donné au roi après la prise de La Rochelle* (1629) as his program of action (a questionable procedure), Burckhardt examines the cardinal's handling of naval affairs, the Montmorency episode, and his personal contacts in private and governmental circles. Most of the work, however, is devoted to French relations with England and Germany, which are examined in depth through the years of the "cold war," that is, to 1635. In this way Burckhardt sets the stage for his final volume which will cover the war years, 1635-1642.

The plan has merit, but its execution falls considerably short of success. Although Burckhardt explicitly writes for a German-speaking audience, this does not explain or excuse the weaknesses of the book. Its structure is faulty in that far too much space is given to historical background of the matters discussed. In order to place Richelieu's handling of Anglo-French relations in proper perspective, Burckhardt finds it necessary to devote most of a ninety-page chapter to analyzing the growth of the two monarchies and their contacts with each other since the twelfth century. The book also contains too many thumbnail sketches of persons only remotely connected with the cardinal. Thus, Richelieu's policies and their significance are given only incidental treatment in many sections of the book. Furthermore, Burckhardt is uncritical in his use of historical evidence, quoting extensively from such an uncertain source as the Petitot edition of Richelieu's *Mémoires*, and not hesitating to draw upon such an outmoded work as Schiller's *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* for dramatic effect. The book is therefore unreliable concerning many specifics. It is not Burckhardt's intention to present new discoveries or even new views of known materials. He concentrates, instead, upon personalities and events, and he fully succeeds in communicating the drama of many of the episodes that he describes. From this standpoint, the best portion of the work is that which analyzes Richelieu's relations with Sweden and the German states from the Treaty of Bärwalde to the collapse of anti-Habsburg forces after the Battle of Nördlingen. Broader interpretations of these and other matters are largely lacking, however, even when such are available in recent publications with which Burckhardt is familiar. The book is therefore something more than popular biography but less than a scholarly contribution. At most, readers will find it valuable because of the author's sense of the drama of history and his massive, if fragmented, picture of many phases of Richelieu's era.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

PROBLÈMES DE STRATIFICATION SOCIALE: DEUX CAHIERS DE LA NOBLESSE POUR LES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DE 1649-1651. By R. Mousnier et al. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de

Paris. Series "Textes et documents," Volume IX. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe moderne, Number 3.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. 184. 12 fr.)

REFLECTING his continuing interest in the stratification of seventeenth-century French society, Professor Mousnier has made available two of the little-known *cahiers* of the Estates-General of the *Fronde*, an assembly initially announced by the government in 1649, postponed on several occasions, and then forgotten with the tacit approval of all parties. A number of elections were held, however, and *cahiers* prepared for the assembly that never met; these the *Centre de Recherches* hopes to publish gradually as valuable social documents, which undoubtedly they are. The first two presented herewith, each about five thousand words in length, are those of the nobility of the province of Angoumois and of the bailliage of Troyes. They are capably edited by Messrs. Labatut and Durand, who have provided background material and short biographies of the men who seemingly prepared the documents. As would be expected, the two *cahiers* mirror the dreadful economic and fiscal conditions of these years, as well as the drafters' resentment of bourgeois officeholders and the growing importance of money. The *cahier* of Troyes also contains some criticism of the high living standards of the local clergy, which one would think more representative of the Third Estate than of the second.

Mousnier's personal contribution to the volume is a wide-ranging and illuminating essay on social stratification in general. He sees society made up historically of three main groups: castes, orders (*estats*), and classes, based on religion, honor, and money, respectively. Among his sources he cites a number of the more recent American and English sociologists and social psychologists, but his interpretation of twentieth-century American society is not as magisterial as that of the old regime. Many American readers may be a little startled by his notion of a fixed US middle class, caught between a few great capitalists and powerful labor unions, who "do not have hope of ascending" and are in the process of evolving from a society of "class" to one of "order."

University of Notre Dame

LEON BERNARD

ROCHAMBEAU. By Arnold Whitridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. 340. \$6.95.)

AMONG the many biographies aimed at both the general reader and the scholar, Professor Arnold Whitridge's *Rochambeau* stands out as an unusual success. This is all the more noteworthy in view of his subject's reticence and lack of dramatic flair. Steadiness and devotion to duty were his virtues, rather than the more striking qualities that brought La Fayette a larger measure of fame.

Students of the American Revolution will have reservations about Whitridge's book. Rochambeau's birth is called "an incident . . . that was destined to change the course of modern history." Had his parents not been able to buy him a regiment, there "might well have been no battle at Yorktown." The limited personal materials available for a life of Rochambeau have led the author to rely upon imagination more than some readers will care for. And La Fayette is too often a foil for praising Rochambeau.

Most important is Whitridge's analysis of the role of Rochambeau in the American war. He presents the French general as the master architect of American victory and attributes to him a prescience concerning the campaign of 1781 that no one could have possessed. As a strategist superior to Washington, Rochambeau is said to have realized that victory would come in Virginia (in very much the same pattern of army and navy cooperation that it did), and he persuaded the American leader to abandon his plan of attacking New York. In giving considerable credit to Rochambeau for the winning of independence, Whitridge has a point, but a point carried too far can distort.

Whitridge's biography is based largely on printed sources, the footnote citations are insufficient, and the index is poor. But its greatest weakness—his overly generous evaluation of Rochambeau's contribution—is one that the scholarly reader can easily allow for. Whitridge's distinguished literary style, however, compensates for these reservations. Rochambeau's life scarcely warrants the extended, scholarly treatment that Louis R. Gottschalk has accorded La Fayette, and this sole modern biography of Rochambeau in English will stand for some years as a useful contribution to American revolutionary literature.

Lehigh University

JOHN CARY

PIERRE SAMUEL DU PONT DE NEMOURS. By *Ambrose Saricks*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1965. Pp. 458. \$7.50.)

GRANTING the value of preserving the record of lesser historical figures, one must heartily welcome this painstaking study of Du Pont de Nemours, especially since its only recent competitor (Pierre Jolly, *Du Pont de Nemours, soldat de la liberté*) is briefer, more impressionistic, and largely lacking in scholarly apparatus.

Frequently on the periphery but never at the true focus of great events and great ideas, Du Pont de Nemours (1739–1817) remains a prime example of the optimistic, outgoing spirit of the French Enlightenment and its embodiment in the practical affairs of several tumultuous decades. Eager for the notice and the approval of posterity, Du Pont was not averse to exaggerating his own role on the historical stage, and it is one of the many considerable merits of this work that Professor Saricks observes caution in assessing the impact of that role. In the development of physiocracy Du Pont's contribution was not of great originality; nor, probably, was his influence ever of truly decisive importance in the crucial political and economic decisions of the dying old regime or of the revolutionary period. Yet his role cannot be overlooked, whether in the negotiations for the 1786 commercial treaty with England, in the era of Calonne and the Assembly of Notables, in the Constituent Assembly (especially but not exclusively in financial affairs), or in the Directory. Du Pont's fame has suffered, perhaps above all, from his moderation and his lack of dramatic color in an age of drama and of extremes.

Saricks has told his story soberly but with sympathy and insight. The story here is essentially biographical, though with brief analyses of Du Pont's writings; it can be argued that the writings, with their lack of striking originality, deserve no more. The work is a compromise between biography and intellectual history, and doubtless certain readers will question the author's strong emphasis upon the former. Others will, perhaps, question his attempted balance between scholarly

and popular appeal. The subject, as well as the thoroughness of his research, points toward a scholarly, indeed rather specialized audience, for whom some of the historical background narrative is largely redundant, especially for the earlier revolutionary period. Yet, if these be faults, they are outweighed by the high general value of this study as an illustration of an era through the life of one of its best-rounded, most incessantly active figures. The index is useful, and the bibliography lengthy, well organized, and fully up to date. Especially commendable, though not for their position at the end of the text, are the full and excellent notes.

University of Akron

HENRY VYVERBERG

FRANCE AND THE ATLANTIC REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1770-1799. By *Jacques Godechot*. Translated by *Herbert H. Rowen*. (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 279. \$6.95.)

As the chief spokesman in France for the "Atlantic" school in the historiography of the French Revolution, Professor Godechot has seen his ideas much discussed both in this country and in Europe. Of his many books, however, this is the first to appear in English. We owe it to the initiative of Herbert Rowen, at whose request Godechot prepared a manuscript which Rowen has translated to form the present volume but which Godechot also used as the basis for his *Les Révolutions, 1770-1799*, published in the "Nouvelle Clio" series in 1963. The resulting American and French books are similar but far from identical. *France and the Atlantic Revolution* lacks the long bibliographical and historiographical sections that form more than half of *Les Révolutions*, but the main text is considerably longer than in the French book. In dealing with the French Revolution itself, the two are the same. In *France and the Atlantic Revolution* the introductory and concluding passages, and the treatment of America and Great Britain, are more detailed.

Following Mathiez and Lefebvre, Godechot sees the Revolution as a step in the rise of the bourgeoisie. He finds it most successful where, as in France, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry could combine against a noble or privileged class. He adds a demographic interpretation, in which the growth of population is emphasized as a cause of discontent. And he adds the "Atlantic" view, finding similar causes at work with varying success in most parts of Europe and America. Not only the French Revolution, but the American Revolution, the radicalism in Britain, the revolutionary attempts in Poland and Ireland, and the changes produced in the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and other revolutionary republics are brought into an interrelated pattern.

Having made similar studies, I naturally welcome this reinforcement and agree with the general thesis presented. Sometimes, however, the thesis seems carried too far. It strains the parallel to affirm that the Polish constitution of 1791 strongly resembled the French constitution of that year, or that population pressure was a cause of unrest in the Anglo-American colonies before 1776, or that the Gordon Riots were provoked by class grievances in which anti-Catholicism was "only a pretext." It can be maintained that the British political clubs of 1792, such as the London Corresponding Society, were revolutionary in expressing views incompatible with the existing order, but it is too much to say that they formed a "true revolutionary network" and were modeled on the Jacobin Clubs

in France. The desire of Republicans in America for actual war with Britain, in the 1790's, is likewise overstated. It is to be feared that some readers, coming upon such passages, may be inclined to question the whole argument. For such readers, a translation of Godechot's *La Grande Nation: L'expansion révolutionnaire de la France* (1956) would have provided more substantial knowledge and a truer idea of Godechot's unique contributions to our understanding of the eighteenth-century revolution. Or, if *La Grande Nation* is too long for translation, someone might produce an abridged version of it in English, as has recently been done for the great work on the Paris sans-culottes by Albert Soboul.

Washington University

R. R. PALMER

THE ENRAGÉS: SOCIALISTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION? By R. B. Rose. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press on behalf of the Australian Humanities Research Council; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. 102. \$3.95.)

If the *enragés* were madmen, they were, like Hamlet, "but mad north-north-west" and knew "a hawk from a handsaw." However questionable their politics, they have attracted some sober historians, many of them sympathetic to the sans-culottes in general, if critical of the *enragés* in particular. Mathiez, J. M. Zacher, the late Russian historian, and Walter Markov of Leipzig have made valuable contributions to their study. Daniel Guérin and Albert Soboul have written of them in the course of analyzing the Parisian *menu peuple*. Perhaps it is the growing interest in the social question that has attracted historians to them. Perhaps it is the problem of revolutionary terror. Perhaps it is their dramatic end which follows inevitably like the denouement of a Greek tragedy that appeals to their biographers.

Professor R. B. Rose wrote his dissertation at the University of Manchester about a decade ago. It is this thesis compressed, polished, and largely rewritten that he has presented to the Australian Humanities Research Council. Beginning with an introductory chapter wherein he traces the bibliography and origin of the word *enragé*, Rose proceeds to narrate the political life of each of the five leaders: Jean Varlet, Jacques Roux, Théophile Leclerc, Pauline Léon, and Claire Lacombe. Each sketch is buttressed by much documentary evidence based on the dossiers in the Archives Nationales, the pertinent holdings in the Victor Cousin Library, the great collections of published sources like those of Tuetey, Ternaux, and Buchez and Roux, journals and newspapers of the Revolution, memoirs of contemporaries, and comments of modern historians. A glance at the footnotes is proof that the author has done a superb job of compressing his extensive material into the limited number of words allotted to him.

Rose answers the question raised by the title negatively. He sees the *enragés* as champions of egalitarianism and social justice rather than as early socialists. In examining them as a group, he concludes that, despite their occasional programmatic agreement, they did not compose a political party in any meaningful sense of the term. Many of their goals were shared by all militant revolutionaries. Even their struggle for the *maximum* was not confined exclusively to them. Yet, Rose admits that the *enragés* were distinguished from others by their "social radical-

ism, class-conscious terrorism, and a switch to 'anti-Jacobinism' in the autumn of 1793." This says much. The repudiation of Jacobin terror in the midst of revolution is quite a distinction. The eighteenth century, no less than our own, had its gods that failed, and the *enragés* were not slow to recognize this failure.

With the publication of this brief but excellent work there is no longer any excuse to confuse the *enragés* with the Hébertists or the Jacobins of the Left. It ought to be read by all interested in the French Revolution.

Youngstown University

MORRIS SLAVIN

L'ÉLECTION PRÉSIDENTIELLE DE LOUIS-NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE, 10 DÉCEMBRE 1848. By *André-Jean Tudesq*. [Kiosque: Les faits; la presse; l'opinion, Number 29.] (Paris: Armand Colin, 1965. Pp. 271. 8.50 fr.)

THE "Kiosque" series, which concerns the press and public opinion in France, now considers the role of the newspaper in relation to the presidential election of 1848. The title is misleading since the author discusses only one phase of the campaign and thus presents only a limited study of the political activity of Prince Louis Napoleon.

Tudesq seeks to discover how important the press was in determining the outcome of December 10. To do so he initially takes his reader back over the well-worn path of the effect of the Napoleonic legend on the mushrooming career of Louis Napoleon. It is in analyzing the editorial position taken by Parisian and provincial journals that he makes his major contribution, however. His verdict is that the newspapers, generally hostile to the Prince, had little or no influence on the outcome of the election. While long suspected, this is now statistically supported. Tudesq again affirms that Louis Napoleon's victory was one for universal suffrage, hence for the French peasantry. They knew the legend of the uncle; they could not read, or would not heed, the warnings of the editors.

The materials Tudesq uses are primarily from newspapers, which he quotes plentifully. He presents valuable statistics on the distribution of votes, as well as charts relating this to the editorial positions of the press, particularly in the departments. His list of and comments about the newspapers of France in 1848 are particularly helpful. Otherwise his interpretation is standard and valid. This is not the whole story of the candidature, and Louis Napoleon remains as elusive as ever. But Tudesq has followed his problem with skill and tenacity, and seldom has the relationship between politics and popular press been better stated.

DePauw University

JOHN J. BAUGHMAN

THE FALL OF PARIS: THE SIEGE AND THE COMMUNE 1870-71. By *Alistair Horne*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965. Pp. xiv, 458. \$6.95.)

THE history of Paris is compounded of glory and horror. It has been the center of European civilization and the capital of a great empire, its streets glittering with military pomp and intellectual brilliance. There have also been scenes of humiliation and, even worse, terror. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Paris has been occupied four times by the victorious armies of France's enemies. It has lived through civil war and bloody massacres. The worst humiliation was perhaps

the fall of Paris to the Prussians in 1871; the worst massacre was that following the fall of the Commune soon afterward. The two events penetrated deeply into French consciousness. Indeed, Mr. Horne traces their effects to the present.

His previous book on the Battle of Verdun in 1916 ranks first among recent works devoted to World War I. His new book on the fate of Paris in 1870 and 1871 has the same electric quality. There are a tingling excitement in the Parisian defiance of the Prussian armies; enthusiasm at the beginning of the Commune; and a noble melancholy in the last futile resistance of the Communards. Reading this book, one lives through the siege of Paris and the Commune with the participants.

Judged as a work of history, this book is not as good as its predecessor. When dealing with Verdun, Horne unfolded the story of the battle with great skill. Here, story is not enough. We need a broader perspective, and Horne presents it rather superficially. His account of *gay Paris before the Franco-Prussian War* is showy; he has a weakness for tired adjectives; his treatment of great men is less sympathetic than his treatment of small men. Nor does Horne understand the spirit of the Commune. The brilliant narrative, however, atones for many faults.

There can be few more dramatic stories than the Commune with its strange mixture of patriotism and working-class idealism, a mixture that no historian will ever clearly resolve. The Commune was the last explosion of Jacobinism and at the same time the precursor of the Bolshevik revolution. It had nothing to do with Communism, though Marx attempted to start the legend that it did.

Horne has a great canvas, and he has used his opportunity. He relied more than previous historians on the accounts of foreigners who were trapped in Paris during the siege. Their comments enliven the drama of the violent and bloody aftermath of the Commune, more terrible in retrospect since it foreshadowed the barbaric pattern with which Europe was soon to become familiar.

Jackson Heights, New York

GABRIEL GERSH

LE SOCIALISME FRANÇAIS: DE L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS À LA GRANDE GUERRE. By *Jean-Jacques Fiechter*. Preface by *Henri Guillemin*. [Études d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, Number 49.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 290. 32 fr. S.)

THE author justifies this comprehensive study of French socialism in the years from the Dreyfus affair to the First World War with the argument that the many books devoted to the subject are polemical and not scholarly and critical. Actually, the older standard works by Paul Louis and Alexandre Zévaès, the more recent volumes by Georges Lefranc and Daniel Ligou, the fine essay in synthesis and interpretation by Marcel Prélot, and the detailed interpretive monograph by the American scholar Aaron Noland (the last work is apparently unknown to the author) cover much the same ground quite adequately. It seems a little late to discover the Jules Guesde-Jean Jaurès controversy over the "deux méthodes" even if a reprinting of the famous confrontation at Lille in November 1900 as an appendix may serve a useful purpose. A familiar pattern emerges of the conflict between the two Socialist "options" of revolutionism and reformism, the crises pro-

duced by the Dreyfus affair and the Millerand "case," the precarious unity established in 1905, and the harmonizing efforts of Jaurès in trying to reconcile the opposing currents in the theoretically united party.

Fiechter's principal contribution is his intensive study of the Socialist party congresses and, even more so, of the parliamentary debates. By methodically analyzing the votes of the Socialist deputies on a large number of concrete political issues from 1902 to 1914, he successfully conveys the changing relationship of forces between the dogmatic intransigent Marxists (the "purs") led by Guesde and the flexible possibilists (the "politiques") led by Jaurès; the nuances within the two groups; and various other scattered "tendances" in the party as well. The analysis and the accompanying tables clearly demonstrate a shift from the hard line of the early years to a more conciliatory pattern in 1910-1914, for which Jaurès gets most of the credit. That the great tribune succeeded only in glossing over many fundamental differences and that he bequeathed an ambiguous legacy to his successors are somewhat ignored.

The volume has a useful chronological summary of the years 1898-1914 and the most detailed "analytical table of contents" (apart from the conventional one) a reader could ever expect to encounter. Although the author's claim that the history of French socialism illuminates the history of all modern socialism is perhaps arguable, he has not examined anything more than the French scene; but that is no small task in itself.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1932-1939). Second Series (1936-1939). Volume II (1^{er} AVRIL-18 JUILLET 1936). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939-1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1964. Pp. lxviii, 763.)

THE second volume of the Second Series of *Documents diplomatiques français*, compiled and edited by a commission of a score of professors and ambassadors under the presidency of Pierre Renouvin, consists of 484 diplomatic dispatches and other documents. This volume covers a fifteen-week span marked by the continuing repercussions to the German reoccupation of the Rhineland on March 7; the Italian victory in Ethiopia and the waning of League of Nations sanctions against the invader; the uneasiness in Paris and the Little Entente capitals over rumors from Vienna of an impending Habsburg restoration or *Anschluss*, the latter made the more likely by the Austro-German accord of July 11; the evidence of Polish alienation over the Franco-Soviet and Czech-Soviet alliances; the Turkish government's repudiation of the Treaty of Lausanne and its success at the Montreux Conference in winning compliance with its determination to rearm the Straits; finally, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. The commission obtained the documents from the archives of the Quai d'Orsay, the historical sections of the army and navy, the Riom trials evidence deposited in the Archives Nationales, and private papers such as those of René Massigli, deputy director of political affairs at the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*.

Those devoted to the *Entente* will find these to be disturbing documents, re-

vealing as they do French and Allied indecision and impotence in the face of cumulative Nazi and Fascist diplomatic and military successes. Typical of the spirit of suicidal passivity is the *compte rendu* of the meeting on April 5, 1936, of Premier Sarraut, War Minister General Maurin, the commander in chief, General Gamelin, and several other generals, admirals, and ministers. Other documents reveal Ambassador L. C. Pineton de Chambrun's almost open admiration for Mussolini and his desire to return to the Stresa front despite *Il Duce's* embarrassing invasion of Ethiopia. And from Berlin Ambassador André François-Poncet sent back a succession of lucid, elegantly phrased analyses of the actions and policies of the Third *Reich* that remind one of a bird hypnotized by a coiled snake, but nonetheless filled with wonder at the snake's graceful convolutions. And from Warsaw Ambassador Léon Noël reported that the Polish government was gravely concerned over Czech-Soviet military collaboration. In fact, Warsaw seemed more preoccupied with Moscow than with Berlin. Such is the tenor of these documents. However depressing the reading (especially from hindsight), the documents are invaluable as primary sources.

University of California, Los Angeles

JERE CLEMENS KING

LA RECHERCHE HISTORIQUE EN FRANCE DE 1940 À 1965. [Comité français des Sciences historiques.] (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1965. Pp. lxiv, 518. 40 fr.)

THIS hefty volume is a tangible by-product of the Vienna historical congress, where it was distributed to eager participants by the French delegation. Specialists on France, and all those interested in the state of the profession in France, will find it an extraordinarily useful guidebook. It contains, among other things, a listing of all research and training institutes or centers, with relevant details about each; a listing of all historical periodicals currently published in France; and a classified bibliography of historical works published by French scholars since 1940. This bibliography occupies the last half of the volume and provides hard evidence, if any were needed, that French historians are a highly Francocentric breed. Only the ancient world has tempted many scholars to venture beyond the national frontiers.

Since Frenchmen have also shown little interest in the history of history, Jean Glénisson's fifty-page essay on contemporary French historiography is particularly welcome. Glénisson stresses the rising influence of Henri Berr during the first three decades of this century, and the still greater impact of the *Annales* school after 1929. The triumph of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch was clearly foreshadowed by 1939; the effect of the war was to complete the rout of the older "positivist" school of *historiens historisants*. By 1961 studies of economic and social history constituted 41 per cent of all theses in progress in modern and contemporary history, and the new VI^e Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, headed first by Febvre and then by Fernand Braudel, had reinforced the *Annales* school's grip on research facilities and funds. French thought about history today, says Glénisson, is characterized by "une absence fondamentale de débat interne." Whether such total consensus is a sign of vigor or debility might in itself be an interesting subject for *débat interne*.

A chapter by Didier Ozanam outlines the character of historical training in the French universities, the types of degrees offered, the various state agencies for the encouragement of research (notably the well-heeled *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*), and the roles of the various archives and libraries. There are briefer chapters on the state of archival inventories and on current trends in the character of doctoral theses. This latter section, by Pierre Renouvin, demonstrates the phenomenal growth of the new *doctorat de troisième cycle* that is roughly equivalent to the American Ph.D. program and the excessive congestion of graduate work at the Sorbonne (where one overworked professor is currently directing some sixty *thèses principales*).

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

LETTRES MARCHANDES ÉCHANGÉES ENTRE FLORENCE ET MEDINA DEL CAMPO. By F. Ruiz Martín. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XXVII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. cli, 484.)

HERE is another volume of letters from the archives of Simón and Cosme Ruiz, sixteenth-century merchants of Medina del Campo. The Ruiz correspondence with France, Lisbon, and Antwerp has already been carefully studied and much of it published (see *AHR*, LXII [Oct. 1956], 126; LXIV [Oct. 1958], 169; LXVI [Oct. 1960], 211; LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 124).

After the decline of Antwerp, Spanish merchants turned their attention toward Italy, especially the cities not under Spanish rule. Simón Ruiz had correspondents in several Italian cities, but this volume contains only the extant correspondence to and from his Florentine agents and connections from 1577 through 1585, with a detailed introduction by the editor. A second volume will contain the later correspondence and some statistical graphs and tables. Most of the letters are from two Spanish agents in Florence, Juan de Lago and his successor, Baltasar Suárez. More than one hundred are from the Capponi firm, which had close financial connections with the fairs of Lyons.

The letters reveal much about trade with Spain and the importance of the new port of Leghorn. Tuscany imported Spanish wool and leather, spices from Portugal, and cochineal from New Spain, that is, Mexico. The only article of importance exported from Tuscany to Spain was woolen cloth, but not enough to counterbalance the imports. Apparently Tuscany was one of the few European countries with which Spain, at this period, had a favorable balance of trade.

Occasionally the letters touch on political and social events that affected commerce, such as the plague of 1579 and rumors of war and peace that caused prices to go up or down. In addition, the letters contain some entertaining anecdotes about resident Spanish merchants and visiting Castilian grandees who were always eager to borrow but too proud to repay.

Because Simón Ruiz had become more interested in bills of exchange than in commodities, the letters deal extensively with the money market. Florence was still a banking place but only of second rank. Philip II, however, tried to use it for the purpose of freeing himself from the shackles of the Genoese bankers. He was

not successful in raising the funds he needed, although he secured substantial loans from the grand duke, Francesco de' Medici.

The introduction contains valuable background material, but is not always helpful in clarifying the meaning of difficult passages such as the exchange rates quoted at the end of almost every letter. There is a detailed analytical index. On the whole, the editor has done a conscientious job, but the full extent of his contribution cannot be assessed until the second volume appears.

Brooklyn, New York

FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

PORTUGUESE SOCIETY IN THE TROPICS: THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS OF GOA, MACAO, BAHIA, AND LUANDA, 1510-1800. By C. R. Boxer. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 240. \$6.00.)

THE University of Wisconsin's Knaplund Lectures for 1966 appear as four chapters, each devoted to the municipal institutions of a Portuguese city outside Europe; notes, conclusions, and an appendix of twenty-seven documents (all but one translated into English) have been added. Within this limited scope Professor Boxer has tried to show how the colonial bodies followed or diverged from their metropolitan prototypes, what they represented, and what their relations were with the home government and its officials. He shows that they used their right to correspond directly with the crown, were not easily overawed by viceroys or others in authority, defended local interests, and patronized civic societies or charities.

Much labor has gone into the work, and administrative historians will be grateful for these four sketches. The conclusions, though interesting, are of unequal importance, and scarcely enable us to perceive to what extent the *câmaras* influenced Portuguese policy or why they succeeded as representative institutions. It is pleasant to record that the author's views on Portuguese overseas policies appear to have moderated: if the "Anglo-Saxons" have not been conspicuously successful in some social matters, there seems little point in diminishing the credit due to those who may have been more so.

University of British Columbia

HAROLD LIVERMORE

GROEN VAN PRINSTERER: SCHRIFTELIJKE NALATENSCHAP. Volume III, BRIEFWISSELING. Part 2, 1833-1848. Prepared by C. Gerretson. Completed by J. La. van Essen. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Number 114.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. xvi, 1010.)

THIS correspondence, written by and addressed to Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876), constitutes the fourth in a series of publications designed to make available the principal unpublished letters and papers of this great Dutch parliamentarian and spiritual father of today's fundamentalist Protestant political parties in the Netherlands. Earlier volumes (1925, 1949, 1951) in the series contained Groen's correspondence for the years 1808-1833 and 1848-1866 and the first installment of the planned series of "papers." An additional volume of correspondence with Groen's political heir, Abraham Kuyper, was published separately by A. Goslinga in 1937.

The present volume covers the period between Groen's resignation as Secretary of the King's Cabinet in December 1833 and his election to the Second Chamber of the States-General in November 1848. During these years of study and reflection Groen won for himself a national and international reputation as a historian and political theorist with the publication of an eight-volume annotated edition of the correspondence of Prince William I of Orange, a handbook for the study of Dutch national history, and a series of lectures on the French Revolution in which he developed his antirevolutionary, Christian-historical political philosophy. In addition to these scholarly works, Groen wrote a number of polemical tracts protesting what he considered the spiritual tyranny of the latitudinarian majority in church and state over the orthodox Calvinist minority in matters of religious doctrine, church organization, and public education.

Groen's correspondence for this period is largely an outgrowth of his activity as a writer and scholar. He is said to have looked upon the publication of his correspondence as a substitute for an autobiography. Unquestionably the main value of his letters lies in what they show of Groen himself, his intellectual development, and his relations with his principal correspondents. And though one must turn to his published works for a comprehensive and systematic exposition of his counterrevolutionary, national-Calvinist views, Groen's letters add a valuable human dimension to our understanding of his thought.

Nearly fifteen hundred letters are here reproduced or summarized. The volume has been edited with meticulous care; the arrangement of the material is mostly chronological, but also systematic in that letters relating to a particular event are frequently grouped together. There is an index of persons and of newspapers and magazines, but no subject index. The book also contains a useful bibliography.

Washington, D. C.

B. H. WABEKE

SCANDINAVIA. By *John H. Wuorinen*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 146. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

STUDENTS and specialists in public affairs, who need a handbook on the life and societies of the North European peoples in the twentieth century, will find this a helpful manual. Coverage is extensive, including data on climate and topography and on institutions—economic, social, and political. Behind this assemblage of material lies much solicitous effort, as will readily be perceived by anyone with experience in assembling copy for encyclopedia purposes. These data account for roughly half the space; the other half is devoted to historical surveys, covering the northern countries individually and then collectively. Roughly four-fifths of the historical treatment is concerned with the twentieth century, an emphasis more or less dictated by the format of the series in which the study appears. The story of the antecedent centuries is summarized effectively, for present purposes, in a single chapter, "History: Trends and Consequences," which takes the separate countries down to revolutionary and Napoleonic days. But, for the nineteenth century, the reader must look to scattered passages in later chapters. An index and three clear maps enhance the manual's usefulness.

One contention to which the author returns several times can prove troublesome. Various phrasings of it are well represented in the wording "that Finland is a charter member of the Nordic group." From this the nonspecialist might unwarrantedly infer that the Finnish people are members of the Scandinavian family in the same sense as are the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Icelanders. The last, incidentally, are the only group here set apart and given a chapter in their own right. Should one country need separate treatment in the context of this study it would seem rather to be Finland. To say this is in no way to call in question, on any national basis, the commitment of the Finns to the traditions of the "West" in the larger sense. That there has been in the twentieth century, notably after the world wars, a growing Finnish disposition to make this commitment articulate through much collaboration on many levels of activity with the Scandinavian neighbors is an important part of the story. Also, in turn, is the circumstance that these neighbors, with good will and cordiality, have welcomed their Finnish colleagues as affiliates and associates in the pursuit of many common endeavors. How extensive these endeavors are is evident from the copious and fulsome substantiation offered in this compact study.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

- DIE KONSILIARPRAXIS DER EBERHARD-KARLS-UNIVERSITÄT UND DIE BEHANDLUNG DER EHRVERLETZUNG IN DEN TÜBINGER KONSILIEN. By *Jochen Geipel*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 4.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 156. DM 15.)
- DAS ERBRECHT DER REICHSTADT ESSLINGEN. By *Jürg Arnold*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 5.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1965. Pp. xvi, 220. DM 18.)
- DIE SCHWÄBISCH-ÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDSTÄNDE UND LANDTAGE IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Nico Sapper*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 6.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1965. Pp. xxii, 144. DM 17.)

HERE are three monographs on southwestern Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Geipel reviews the legal opinions handed down by the University of Tübingen's faculty of laws to inferior courts in Württemberg and elsewhere. In most small German towns legal business was brought before lay courts, and when amateur judges disagreed, or were mystified by legal intricacies, or when the minority refused to accept the majority decision, they requested advice from a nearby university. Geipel examines the *Consilia Tubingensia* from 1495 through the eighteenth century and the profuse exchange of documents that accompanied them. Special reference is made to cases of defamation and injury. *Consilia* were mere opinions at first, but from about 1600 they became binding on the courts. Such a usurpation by universities of the functions of courts was rooted in the Germanic tendency to split the roles of jurist and judge. As long as the latter had to turn elsewhere for expert counsel, it seemed sensible to seek it at the highest scholarly level.

One of the many places applying to Tübingen was the imperial city of Esslingen. There, as elsewhere in Germany, Roman law entered the legal machinery

as the need for it arose. Arnold investigates this process, with special attention to the law of inheritance. His study shows that Germanic legal institutions persevered tenaciously in Esslingen. Not until the "Improved Law of Inheritance" of 1712 did Justinian provisions become dominant. Some undertakings, like marriage agreements, escaped the Roman impact altogether, but testaments were strongly influenced. Incidentally, local investigations of such limited scope as Arnold's are not as isolated as they might appear. The entire question of the Reception has been undergoing re-examination, and local studies are vital to the synthesizing historian.

South of Esslingen and Tübingen lies "Swabian Austria" by which is meant those lands, stretching from the western border of Bavaria along the Danube to the Rhine, where the Habsburgs tried to reconstitute the ancient duchy of Swabia. They failed, and their Swabian possessions never came to be more than a *Streubesitz*. Nonetheless, the region saw, early in the sixteenth century, the rise of territorial estates. As elsewhere, the great incentive for this surge was Maximilian's constant need of money and soldiers. His demands gave occasions for meetings, debates, even the organization of a rudimentary bureaucracy to collect taxes and such. But the region was too disjointed to gain any kind of coherence. Indeed, it remains uncertain whether one can speak of it as a *Land* at all. Sapper says that one can, but only in the sense of "a reflection of a territorial administration in process of formation." In any case, Maria Theresa's administrative reform of 1750 swept "Swabian Austria" away.

Indiana University

GERALD STRAUSS

FREEDOM AND DIGNITY: THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT OF SCHILLER. By *Deric Regin*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. 153. Glds. 18.)

THIS book covers Schiller's intellectual development up to Weimar and his association with Goethe. The best chapters are those dealing with his historical writings, their role in his over-all thought, and their importance in the formation of his mature aesthetic theory. Briefly, the author's thesis is: History provided Schiller "with a new technique for combatting oppression, differing from that which he had employed as a poet and playwright." Synthesizing Kant and the anti-Kantian Herder, he came to view history as a teacher "showing man, through the continuity and context of historical events, what he is in his present state, and what he may become in the future." Under the impact of the French Revolution he turned away from history in the belief that "since the task is to make clear what we are not, but are to become and should become, history has lost its instrumentality as an educator." His transition in the early 1790's from history to aesthetics grew out of his conviction that "not politics, but art is the realm in which man's totality which was lost in history, will be revived." Following Aristotle, Schiller henceforth viewed the arts as "the correctors of history."

Throughout the book, and especially in the first third, the author depends too heavily and uncritically for generalization on Meinecke, Cassirer, Silz, and Strich; whereas there is only passing mention of the important essays on Schiller, and on the period, by Georg Lukács. One wearies of the argument, for example,

that because Kant did understand Rousseau, the Storm and Stressers necessarily could not. This just is not so. Rousseau is more than the forerunner of Kant's rational will, and the author's own argument suggests that Schiller's political consciousness owes more to Rousseau than to Kant. Thus Regin asks: "Would it be rash to conjecture that Schiller gave up his fight for political freedom in his historical essays, because he recognized that the general will of even an enlightened and mature nation was incompatible with ethical freedom?" Yes, I think it would be rash. This is more the view of Kierkegaard than of Schiller. It was not a question for Schiller of the incompatibility of ethical freedom and enlightenment, but of the incompatibility of ethical freedom and the bourgeois statism of enlightened France. The whole point of his aesthetic ideal of an inwardly harmonious mankind was that one day it would "guarantee reality to the political creation of reason." Again, Regin asks: "Granted that the French Revolution had turned into a kind of tyranny, could Schiller not have conceived of more practical ways to combat social and political injustices?" I think not. Ludwig Uhland, Georg Forster, and even Goethe simply attest the tragic futility of nonrevolutionary progressive political activity in Germany at this time. Germany required revolution, and revolution was out of the question. Schiller's greatness lies in his effort to save and encourage the ideal of humanity in spite of the political situation. Under the circumstances, can we wonder that art served his purpose better than history?

Yale University

ROBERT ANCHOR

SYBEL UND TREITSCHKE: ANTIDEMOKRATISMUS UND MILITARISMUS IM HISTORISCH-POLITISCHEN DENKEN GROSSBOURGEOISER GESCHICHTSIDEOLOGEN. By *Hans Schleier*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. Series 1, Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Number 23.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 317. DM 28.)

HEINRICH von Treitschke's disastrous influence on the intellectual life of Germany from the founding of Bismarck's empire to the end of Hitler's tyranny has been clearly recognized by present-day historians in his native land and in this country by Hans Kohn and Andreas Dorpalen, especially. Much less attention, however, has been paid to his contemporary, Heinrich von Sybel, another leading proponent of the *kleindeutsche* solution among the political historians of the nineteenth century. Sybel, founder of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, secretary of the powerful *Historische Kommission* in Munich, and, finally, director of the Prussian State Archives, was probably the most respected German historian of his day, next to his teacher, Ranke. A comparative study that would have appraised the political role of Sybel and Treitschke critically but calmly might have been of considerable benefit to students of nationalism and historical method. Unfortunately, this has not been accomplished by Hans Schleier in his present study which grew out of a dissertation accepted by the Karl Marx University in Leipzig.

The author is a pupil of Ernst Engelberg, a leading East German historian, and serves on the staff of the Historical Institute at the Academy of Sciences in East Berlin. He could have made a real contribution to the history of German historiography since he had access to the Sybel papers in the *Zentralarchiv* at

Merseburg; he seems also to have used unpublished Treitschke materials, although he rarely mentions details on this point. But he has missed his chance, for he is much more interested in violent polemics than in sober analysis. He criticizes almost all German historians, past and present. Even liberal minds like Siegfried Kaehler and Franz Schnabel are denounced as *reaktionär* and *ganz rückständig*; Friedrich Meinecke does not escape severe criticism, either. Schleier directs his most uninhibited attacks, however, against Walter Bussmann, Schnabel's successor at the University of Munich and author of the most important recent German monograph on Treitschke. That Schleier is capable of doing a more constructive job is evident from some passages dealing with Sybel's and Treitschke's negative attitude toward social reform. Here is a legitimate occasion to expose their class prejudices, and he is rather persuasive. But otherwise this dissertation confirms the notion I gained at the recent historical congress in Vienna that there is an abyss between most historians of the Bonn Republic and East Germany. How would they ever be able to work together if the iron curtain were to be lifted?

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

THE MERCHANT OF REVOLUTION: THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER ISRAEL HELPHAND (PARVUS), 1867-1924. By Z. A. B. Zeman and W. B. Scharlau. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. 306. \$7.20.)

AMONG the personalities of European socialism in the era of the Second International, few were as extraordinary as Helphand-Parvus. His massive build, ardent revolutionary spirit, and indifference to "bourgeois" standards of probity in money matters suggest a latter-day Bakunin. To the austere socialists among whom he moved, his unabashedly Bohemian way of life and his zeal in acquiring a large personal fortune made him an object of suspicion. His friends thought of him as a figure larger than life, who "did everything on a grand scale."

Students of socialism know Helphand best as the radical journalist and Marxian theoretician who exerted a profound and lasting influence on Trotsky's revolutionary thought. More recently, the publication of secret documents from the German Foreign Ministry archives captured in 1945 revealed that he served as the Imperial German government's chief agent in its campaign to drive Russia out of the First World War through covert aid to the antiwar forces in the Russian revolutionary movement. Dr. Zeman, the British editor of these absorbing documents, has now teamed up with W. B. Scharlau, a German scholar, to produce the first biography of Helphand.

Plainly an outgrowth of Zeman's previous work, this study devotes disproportionate attention, almost half its pages, to Helphand's activities during the war years. Fresh research has been combined with the evidence of the earlier documentary collection to make this part of the volume the best account available of German efforts to undermine first the tsarist regime and then the provisional government, its successor, which elected to continue the war. Helphand provided the inspiration for these efforts, but, except for his scheme to facilitate the return of the Bolshevik leaders to Russia via Germany, the authors are uncertain as to how fruitful his activities were. They are persuaded, how-

ever, that his political life was all of a piece, that in collaborating with the diplomats Helphand did not betray, but rather thought to promote, his socialist ideals. For their fulfillment, he was "ready to employ any means: revolution in Russia, elections in Prussia, the diplomats in Berlin."

Regrettably, the first half of the book is distinctly inferior to what follows. Paucity of material may account for the thinness of the treatment of Helphand's life prior to the world war. The impression is inescapable, nevertheless, that this part of the volume was put together with indecent haste. The reader obtains an outline of the subject's career, but Helphand's interesting ideas are treated only summarily, and not infrequently to the accompaniment of banal judgments. The authors have neglected to consult the voluminous literature on the Russian Social Democratic party, with the result that their treatment of Helphand's association with it is riddled with errors.

Grinnell College

S. H. BARON

HISTOIRE DE L'ARMÉE ALLEMANDE. Volume V, LES ÉPREUVES DE FORCE, 1938. By Benoist-Méchin. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1965. Pp. 531. 27 fr.)

SHORTLY before the start of the Second World War, M. Benoist-Méchin published a two-volume *History of the German Army since the Armistice*, which in 1940 was *couronné* by the French Academy. During the war the author held a senior position in the Vichy government and later was imprisoned for collaboration. Since his release he has been superseding his earlier work with a vaster project, bearing almost the same title, of which this volume is the fifth. As the author himself has noted, the contents of neither version are accurately reflected in the title. German military institutions and policies are indeed discussed, but at least in the more recent volumes their treatment tends to be extremely general. In the few cases where sufficient space is devoted to them the material employed is inadequate. For example, a lengthy comparison of Hitler's strategic views with those held by the army's chief of staff, Ludwig Beck, is developed on the basis of some anecdotes and catchy quotations, but does not seriously analyze Beck's position papers and historical essays. If the work is not a history of the German Army, what is it about? Whatever his original intention, the author now is writing a political and diplomatic history of the breakdown of Versailles. But even this description may be too narrow. A tendency to go very far into the background of his subject, which was noticeable from the start, has now gone out of control: one-third of the present volume is taken up by an account of Bohemian and Czechoslovak history before 1933. Intelligently written, evocative rather than informative, it rarely rises above the level of a Sunday *feuilleton*.

Nevertheless, the book is not without value. Its author is not handicapped by the anger that besets many historians when they write of the 1930's; he evaluates the pressures and counterpressures between states and within governments with a detached appreciation for power. Occasionally he permits himself an absurd construction—Beneš in the spring of 1938 playing for time because he believed the tales of such refugees as Thomas Mann and Emil Ludwig that Germany was on

the verge of revolution—or the repetition of ancient Right-wing arguments, like Gamelin's fatuous statement in March 1938 that sending additional military equipment to the Spanish Republicans would result in disarming the French forces. But he is good at analyzing the tactics of international conflict in the Nazi era, and, more than that, at permitting us to sense the decay of society, the feebleness of ideology, the blindness of the practical politician, and the inadequacy of nearly every statesman of Europe just before the war.

Institute for Advanced Study

PETER PARET

JOSEPH II AND BAVARIA: TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ATTEMPTS AT GERMAN UNIFICATION. By *Paul P. Bernard*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. 227. Glds. 24.)

PROFESSOR Bernard, for some years a discriminating student of Josephinism, has turned in his interesting book to the diplomatic aspects of Joseph II's reign. He deals with the Emperor's efforts, as coregent in 1778–1779 and as ruler in his own right in 1785, to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria and thereby not only to obtain compensation for the loss of Silesia but to secure definitely Austrian supremacy in Germany. The consequences of such a policy, if successful, for the future history of the Habsburg Empire, for the German question in general, and for Balkan policies are vividly argued. Perhaps they would have been even more staggering, and the whole course of world history might have been different.

And yet, to call this study attempts at "German unification" is a misnomer. History is basically the discipline of what happened and why things happened, and not of what did not happen and what would have happened, had it happened. Joseph II failed in an expansionist policy. Primarily he did not have the unification of Germany but the strengthening of Austria in mind, although his policy, seen from a long-range point of view, might indeed have led to German unification under Austrian-Catholic auspices. It did not. In this sense we are justified in devoting much greater attention to the Silesian wars than to the Bavarian succession. Still, Bernard's story is worth telling, and he tells it well and with solid documentary implementation. The unreliability of French support for Joseph's designs seems to him as important as Frederick II's opposition and the imponderability of Russia's attitude. All this is well reasoned. Perhaps the study is, at points, too personalized. There is no question that Kaunitz was an extremely vain personality, but there is no evidence that his over-all policies were determined or decisively influenced by this trait. I do not think that Catherine II's concern with her imperial dignity in her negotiations with Joseph can be dismissed lightly. Even in the eighteenth century ceremonial questions were still symbols of very real interests of the Great Powers in international relations.

Some statements, perhaps owing to editorial oversight, are somewhat puzzling to me. A chief advantage in the acquisition of the *Innviertel* by Austria in 1779 is seen in the fact that "the district of Tyrol now became contiguous to the main body of Austrian possessions." Problematical is the reference to the "Austrians finding themselves a minority in their own country in an age of rapidly

increasing national tension and consciousness." Does this mean that the Austrians are equated with German-Austrians, and if so why? The author does not say. Yet what he does say amounts to a most penetrating and original contribution to eighteenth-century diplomatic history.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

SIGMUND FREUD: A SHORT BIOGRAPHY. By *Giovanni Costigan*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. xiv, 306. \$4.95.)

As Ernest Jones's three-volume biography of his master appeared (1953-57), considerable condemnation on the ground of bias tended to neutralize the praise of Freudians. Yet Jones's work, based on some 2,500 letters that "official psychoanalysis" had sealed off for a half century, was crammed with material. Philip Rieff confessed in the preface to his brilliant analysis of Freud's concepts, *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist* (1959), that he could not "entirely believe" the Jones volumes, but found them filled with "enough raw material . . . for a dozen Oedipal offspring." He continued: "Any man with talent and daring enough can begin to write a different interpretation of Freud's life with nothing more at his elbow than Jones." One historian had already made use of Jones in a biography (Richard L. Schoenwald, *Freud: The Man and His Mind, 1856-1956* [1956]), but this book was received with disappointment as basically a mere summary of Freud's writings. In the meantime scholars in other fields were making contributions to an understanding of various aspects of Freud's career and concepts.

Now an American historian has again essayed a biography of Freud. Based mainly on Freud's published writings and letters and Jones's volumes, Costigan's book is an account of Freud's experiences and work. The author makes no attempt to cut through the protective wrappings in which the psychoanalysts have swathed their hero; he presents Freud as Freud saw himself, and as his admirers still see him. Particularly annoying are the absence of index and footnotes and the frequent use of generalizations without supporting evidence. At times Costigan fails to mention conclusions that stem from recent research; this leaves the reader uncertain whether he has dismissed them as unimportant or whether he was unaware of them. In his comments on the remarkable similarity between the concepts of Freud and Arthur Schnitzler, for example, he seems unaware of the possibility that Schnitzler might have influenced Freud rather than, as was originally assumed, the opposite. And although the author sometimes mentions the scholarly objections to Freud's excursions into fields beyond his ken, at others this is neglected, as in the case of Freud's favorite analysis, *Leonardo da Vinci: A Study in Psychosexuality*. Yet Meyer Schapiro easily destroyed the entire basis for Freud's cobweb structure ("Leonardo and Freud: An Art-Historical Study," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVII [Apr. 1956], 147-78).

Except for such irritations the book, competently organized and smoothly written, makes pleasant reading. It is obviously intended for popular consumption, and it may seem unfair to condemn it for not achieving more than it attempts. Surely, however, no historian should be satisfied to produce a work so superficial as to be misleading in a field where objectivity is clearly needed. Perhaps Gerhard Masur's thoughtful sketch of Freud as philosopher in his *Prophets*

of *Yesterday: Studies in European Culture 1890-1914* (1961) is a forecast of what the historian's approach will eventually be.

Montgomery Junior College

MARY R. DEARING

DIE BADENISCHEN SPRACHENVERORDNUNGEN VON 1897: IHRE GENESIS UND IHRE AUSWIRKUNGEN VORNEHMLICH AUF DIE INNERÖSTERREICHISCHEN ALPENLÄNDER. Volume II. By *Bertold Sutter*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, Number 47.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus. 1965. Pp. 524. DM 59.)

AFTER an intermission of five years this second volume now completes Professor Sutter's analysis of the Austrian political crisis brought about by the language ordinances of Prime Minister Count Badeni. (For a critique of the first volume, see *AHR*, LXVII [Oct. 1961], 211.) The utter precision of the book's monumental title should not frighten away even the casual reader; there is much more in these two volumes than their title would indicate. For while the first volume ranges all the way from the birth of the nationality problem in Austria under Joseph II to the beginnings of the political crisis in 1897, this second volume discusses the growing clashes between hysterical nationalists. The author detects, in fact, a direct relationship between this crisis and the mid-century "final solution" of the minority question in the Danubian era. The Badeni ordinances, which established the parity of the German and Czech languages in the administration of Bohemia, unleashed bedlam in the *Reichsrat* and throughout the country. The ordinances were never put into effect, and Francis Joseph soon dropped his Prime Minister, but the hatreds created in this period were never again stilled. Thereafter Austria had to be governed by imperial fiat. (Does not Sutter perhaps underestimate the successes of Baron von Beck and of his franchise reform in 1907?) Worst of all, the Magyars used the nearby collapse of their Austrian partners to pursue ruthlessly their policy of sabotage of the *Ausgleich*. Enjoying the support of the German Kaiser, the Magyars began to insist on their absurd concept of Austria as a foreign power. This was truly the beginning of the end of the monarchy. The author's indictment of the Hungarian liberal government is justifiably severe, from the point of view of a historian sympathetic toward the monarchy, yet he is hardly less scathing in his indictment of the aggressively imperialist Czech politicians. Nor do German nationalists on both sides of the border fare any better. The ultimate responsibility for this tragedy is laid at the feet of the bungling Prime Minister, and only the monarch and the monarchy as a whole escape blame. For the army, the administration, the conservatives, and most of the lower classes did not desert their ruler. In fact, the author insists, the Austrian half of the monarchy provided the world with an immortal, if often forgotten, example of multinational coexistence and extremely fair minority legislation.

The author's analysis is conscientious, his documentation enormous, and while one wishes that he had treated the many ridiculous incidents of the great crisis with less solemnity and more humor, the high quality of this unique contribution to Austrian history cannot be doubted.

Columbia University

ISTVAN DEAK

RECHERCHES SUR LES CONSTITUTIONS DES PEUPLES LIBRES. By J. C. L. Sismondi. Edited with an introduction by Marco Minerbi. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 8.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 384. 36 fr. S.)

FROM 1796 through 1800, during his exile in Tuscany, Sismondi wrote a series of essays on political theory and the application of this theory to the constitutional history of medieval Italy and Spain. He was unable, however, to find a publisher willing to accept his work, and the manuscript ultimately became part of the collection of his papers in the *Biblioteca Comunale* of Pescia. In his later writings Sismondi referred but rarely to the youthful *Recherches sur les constitutions des peuples libres*. Still, if one believes De Salis, his biographer, he considered the *Recherches* to contain the essence of his political thought. In his subsequent volumes he did not alter his principles; he simply filled in the details.

Thanks to the careful editing of the *Recherches* by Marco Minerbi, Sismondi's observations can be put to the test. What we possess is indeed an introduction to that sixteen-volume hymn to the liberties of the medieval commune, the *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* (1807-18). Reacting against the imperialism of the Jacobin dictatorship which had driven him from Geneva, Sismondi found historical solace through analyses of the "free" urban institutions of northern Italy and Aragon of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In his view vigorous parliamentary governments, representative in their fashion, were responsible for the vitality of the peoples governed by them. As the regimes turned oligarchic or dictatorial, the moral fiber of the citizenry weakened correspondingly. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the pursuit of wealth replaced interest in politics, contributing yet further to the decline of public morality.

The publication of the *Recherches* may not resolve the issue of whether Sismondi should be labeled the last of the Enlightenment historians or the first of the romantics. Nor does it appear that economic theory had as yet assumed a major place in his historical thought. Nevertheless, Minerbi has performed a service in making available this document which shows that while still in his twenties Sismondi ranged from Plato to John Adams in his reading. It is noteworthy that, for all his misgivings about the *Contrat social*, Sismondi insisted upon being considered a disciple of his illustrious compatriot, of whom he said in the *Recherches*: "Nons différons plutôt dans les mots que dans les choses."

University of Oregon

RAYMOND BIRN

SOZIALER UND KULTURELLER WANDEL IN EINEM LÄNDLICHEN INDUSTRIEGEBIET: (ZÜRCHER OBERLAND) UNTER EINWIRKUNG DES MASCHINEN- UND FABRIKWESENS IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By Rudolf Braun. (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1965. Pp. 368. DM 26.)

DR. BRAUN'S study of industrialization in the Swiss canton of Zurich in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the second volume of a set; the first was devoted to industrial activity in the Zurich highlands during the eighteenth century.

Switzerland became one of the most highly industrialized areas of Western

Europe in the last century, but, rather than describe the history of its industrialization, the author has confined himself to a sociological study of the effects of industrialization on *Volks* culture. More specifically, he has contrasted the sociology of early industrialization in the Zurich textile industry in the period 1815-1850 with that of the 1860's, 1870's, and 1880's. There is little concern with actual historical description. Much space is devoted to an excessive use of the jargon of contemporary German sociology and to repetitious statements referring to themes allegedly to be developed in subsequent chapters, but hardly further discussed than in terms of the jargon used at first reference.

Despite these faults, the author presents some stimulating ideas, thus rescuing the excellence of his research, and, in the end, compelling one to respect the high caliber of his interpretation. Conservative in his use of historical terminology, Braun refuses, for example, to follow English and American usage of the term "industrial revolution," preferring the simpler term "industrialization." The latter turns out to be a social process inextricably linked to the "machine-factory system" of production, itself a revolutionary cultural force. The less adaptable domestic workers, unemployed spinners, and rural riffraff of the Zurich highlands were drawn into the factories when they first opened, there to be subject to crippling work loads, low pay, poor housing, and a generally barren way of life. During the nineteenth century, philanthropists, intellectuals, and the petty bourgeoisie became concerned with the "social question" posed by the ills of factory culture. The works of leading philanthropists, government reports on working conditions, newspapers and records of clubs, and factory ordinances have all been thoroughly studied and brought to bear on the sociological analysis. Archives of business firms were not, however, sufficiently available.

Most interesting, and somewhat novel, is Braun's contention that by the end of the century the worker had become a lively individual, highly stimulated by the technology of machine production, not alienated from his work, but devoted to it and the culture it had created. Consumers' goods industries and the culture of the modern consumer also arose as the factory system spread, and this feature of working-class culture penetrated to other classes in the twentieth century. By the end of the first century of its existence, the owners of the factory system had also become less tyrannical, even patriarchal and paternalist, in their views.

It would seem as if the consumer culture that developed with the factory system is more important than the working-class movement, which is also described, but which appears to the author to be a by-product of factory culture and the social question rather than a cultural achievement. For him, Swiss social welfare and a Swiss consumer culture do represent such an achievement.

University of Alberta

HELEN P. LIEBEL

HENRY DUNANT: PROPHET OF PEACE. By *Violet Kelway Libby*. (New York: Pageant Press. 1964. Pp. 377. \$6.95.)

THE general origins of the International Red Cross are familiar to students of nineteenth-century history, and the role of its principal founder, Henri Dunant, is known to those concerned with the development of internationalism and the peace movement. The present biography supplements its predecessors in providing

new information gleaned from the Dunant archives at Geneva, reports and documents of the International Committee of the Red Cross, contemporary newspapers, consular reports in the National Archives, and interviews with family members and surviving acquaintances.

Violet Libby provides a useful background for understanding the place of Dunant and his family in the evangelical circles of Geneva and in its financial and business community. The isolated and religious upbringing of Dunant helps explain his social sensitivity, his lively enthusiasms for good works, and his credulity, overoptimism, and naïveté, qualities that figured in his many failures, whether in his efforts to promote the agricultural and industrial development of Algiers, to secure the neutralization of Palestine, or to launch the institution for which he is best known. Dunant was, to be sure, not without a marked practical, promotional talent. This was evident in what he did for the World Evangelical Alliance, the YMCA, and, above all, for publicizing the excellent reporting he did of the Battle of Solferino in his most important book, *Un souvenir de Solferino* (1862). The international conference at Geneva in 1863, in which he took a leading part, paved the way for the diplomatic conference of 1864, which submitted to the governments of the world the Geneva convention, to be subsequently accepted and amplified with the well-known result of the neutralization of ambulances, military hospitals, and their personnel. In the third edition of his influential book Dunant proposed the use of the national Red Cross societies for humanitarian work in peacetime disasters, a proposal that Clara Barton first implemented in the United States.

In emphasizing the supremacy of humanitarian considerations over national and racial commitments Dunant was a significant nineteenth-century figure in the growth of internationalism, but until his death in 1910 he suffered virtual exile from his native city and precarious poverty; ill-health added to his plight. The belated recognition of his pioneer work, to which the Nobel Peace Prize contributed, only partly compensated for his near defeat in the conflict with oblivion.

This biography presents, in addition to the story of Dunant, a panorama of well-known figures with whom he had more than casual contacts. It would be unfair to say that the author does not try to relate Dunant to those who helped him realize his main objective and to currents of humanitarianism and internationalism, but these efforts do not entirely succeed. What does clearly emerge, however, is the way in which a middle-class humanitarian businessman and evangelical reformer, advocating class collaboration and distrusting both socialism and democracy, found it necessary to court the favor of royal families and of highly placed figures in the military and diplomatic world. Despite the book's lack of analysis and annotation, it is likely to be useful for a long time.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

STUDI SULLA FORTUNA DEL MACHIAVELLI. By *Giuliano Procacci*. [Studi di storia moderna e contemporanea.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1965. Pp. xi, 468.)

IN the heavily worked mine of Machiavellian research the author has discovered an almost unexplored vein. This book is not another study of the role of Machi-

avellism and anti-Machiavellism in political thought but a history of Machiavellian scholarship from the sixteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century. The author investigates those writers who made acknowledged or unacknowledged use of Machiavelli's works. He reveals the story behind the discovery and publication of hidden or forgotten Machiavellian material, and he explains the development that led to the publication of the first complete editions of Machiavelli's works at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The author's research is impressive, but despite the rich detail the main thread of thought in the single chapters never gets lost, and each chapter holds the attention of the reader.

The first half of the book will be read as single chapters rather than as continuous narrative. This results from the nature of the subject under investigation. During the sixteenth century when Machiavelli's works had been placed on the Index the study of Machiavelli required intellectual courage and adventurousness. During this period the history of Machiavellian scholarship cannot be clearly separated from the history of Machiavellism. Thus, in the earlier parts of the book the author can provide only additions to previously explored facts. It seems to me that in these chapters the author does not always avoid the danger of finding a direct influence of Machiavelli in passages that might be explained as reflecting general trends of thought.

When Procacci's presentation has reached the middle of the seventeenth century, the character of the book changes: it becomes a connected whole that makes fascinating reading. In the Protestant north—England, Germany, and the Netherlands—the concept of Machiavelli the Republican was developed, and this notion gradually infiltrated Italy and reawakened interest in Machiavelli among Italian *eruditi*. They explored archives and family papers for new information about the *Segretario Fiorentino*, but, confronted with the opposition of the Church, they were prevented from reporting publicly about their findings except in disguised form. Nevertheless, at the end of the eighteenth century comprehensive editions of Machiavelli's works were published in Italy, and in the Florence of Pietro Leopoldo the Machiavelli monument in Santa Croce was erected. But hardly had Machiavelli gained recognition as a protagonist of freedom when the views about him changed again. In the intellectual climate of the Restoration, the condemnation of his works by the Church acquired new significance, and scholars who had been instrumental in rehabilitating Machiavelli now sent apologetic letters to the Pope. Moreover, the greater knowledge of Machiavelli's life, which the researches of the eighteenth century had produced, undermined the view of Machiavelli as defender of freedom, which originally had stimulated interest in him. Machiavelli's famous letter to Vettori about the composition of the *Prince* showed that this treatise could not be interpreted as a warning against the Medici tyranny. In a time of rising nationalism, nevertheless, Machiavelli remained an admired thinker as an early advocate of Italian national unity. The book ends with chapters on Machiavelli and the *Risorgimento* and with an analysis of Francesco de Sanctis' interpretation of Machiavelli. It seems regrettable that the author failed to pursue his researches a few decades further to the origin of the classical biographies of Machiavelli by Villari and Tommasini, which in my opinion would have formed the logical conclusion of his work. But the author's heart is in the eighteenth rather than in the nineteenth century, and the most im-

portant and lasting contributions of this erudite work are its insights into the intellectual and cultural history of the *settecento*.

Institute for Advanced Study

FELIX GILBERT

PENSIERO POLITICO E VITA CULTURALE A NAPOLI NELLA SECONDA METÀ DEL SEICENTO. By *Salvo Mastellone*. [Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea, Number 88.] (Florence: Casa Editrice G. D'Anna. 1965. Pp. 244. L. 1,800.)

IN this valuable survey of the Neapolitan reception of new ideas from Northern Europe during the last half of the seventeenth century we can observe the careers and the writings of that substantial group of literati and professional men composing the mobile and mixed middling group between the humanist that was and the Enlightenment scientist to be.

The author, a close scholar of the numerous manuscript collections housed in the relatively uncharted archives of Naples, rightly refuses to subordinate the intellectual history of the city to the coming of its most formidable philosopher: Giovanni Battista Vico. He believes that the many Neapolitan writers so open to currents from the north are deserving of a separate and ample discussion. Therefore he first describes the confrontation between feudal doctrine and the new jurisprudence. In unforeseen ways such a figure as Grotius comes to buttress the arguments of lawyers of Naples seeking to make the "public good" prevail over archaic but still strong baronial privilege. Similarly, we observe the need of the southern Italian writers to contrast the theories of Descartes and Gassendi with those of the time-honored Scholastics. There is also that little-studied contest between Catholic historiography and Protestant scholarship. Especially unattractive to Neapolitan writers are papal theocratic claims, and of course the Inquisition. Here disaffection is supported by sources as wide ranging as Erasmus and Spinoza. Soon, however, we observe that the interaction between northern ideas and southern discontents is generalized. The eagerness with which the new was received and the intensity with which it was given form lead to what the author describes as "la grande rivoluzione spirituale napoletana." Borrowings from such groups as the Dutch philologists and historians of philosophy included a threefold division of Greek thought into the heroic, mythic or theological, and philosophical ages. Such delineations were to be rendered meaningful beyond the most immodest expectations by Vico whose early years were spent in the receptive milieu so aptly described, if not deeply analyzed, by the author.

University of Rochester

MARVIN B. BECKER

OIL SILK AND ENLIGHTENMENT: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN XVIIITH CENTURY NAPLES. By *Patrick Chorley*. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Number 18.] (Naples: the Istituto. 1965. Pp. 282. L. 3,500.)

IN a forceful if often speculative study, Patrick Chorley examines the economics of producing olive oil and raw silk in the kingdom of Naples at the end of the eighteenth century, especially between 1780 and 1806. Using merchants' letter books,

the acts of communes, and the manuscripts of the Finance Ministry in the *Archivio di Stato*, the author shows that exports of olive oil doubled in the generation before the revolutionary wars, in response to North Sea and Baltic markets and to the profit of foreign merchants. Two southern provinces, Otranto and Calabria Ultra, accounted for over two-thirds of the exports. Prices were subject to wide seasonal variations. Chorley conclusively demonstrates that the *voce* or fixed price was set at rates favorable to Neapolitan merchants, who also benefited from the device of the *contratto alla voce*, a short-term cash loan advanced to the producer before the harvest and reimbursed by shipments of oil at the fixed price. Not only was urban monopoly of rural credit one of the structural factors limiting the expansion and profitability of agricultural commerce; it was also a cause of class antagonism between olive grower and merchant. A further burden upon agrarian productivity was the policy of taxation upon purely fiscal grounds, also designed to provision the Neapolitan poor. In a lengthy chapter on the silk industry the author suggests that adverse price movements, the lack of credit, and excessive taxation produced a decaying industry, in full recession after 1792.

"Enlightenment" is limited to economic reform and is presented in the memorandums of such state servants as Palmieri and Grimaldi. There is no attempt to define the limits of enlightened despotism, although its failure to reform thoroughly the oil *voce* in 1788 and the silk duties in 1790 is described as typical. The *illuministi* saw the domination of the provinces by Naples and deplored the administrative inheritance of the Bourbon regime, but mostly failed to see the importance of the rural credit system for the national economy.

Chorley has seriously and thoughtfully penetrated into uncharted territory. His findings on price history and the institution of credit are especially valuable. Although the graphs of price movements are useful, one regrets the absence of maps, bibliography, and a glossary. No quotations are translated, leaving one-tenth of the text in the original Italian. The interweaving of economic practice and reforming ideas is occasionally "repetitive and overlapping," as the author himself acknowledges.

University of Pennsylvania

PERRY VILES

L'UNIFICAZIONE POLITICA E AMMINISTRATIVA NELLE "PROVINCIE DELL'EMILIA" (1859-60). By *Isabella Zanni Rosiello*. [Ricerche sull'Italia moderna, Number 5.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1965. Pp. viii, 272. L. 2,200.)

ITALY's *Risorgimento* was a phenomenon rich enough to allow a variety of interpretations, but surely its clearest achievement was the administrative unification of Italy. It seems remarkable, therefore, that Italy's administrative history has been a subject of intense historical interest only since the Second World War. Miss Zanni Rosiello's book, an intelligent and informed addition to this growing understanding, treats a time and place particularly significant in the formation of the Italian kingdom. The end of the war in July 1859 left the provinces of central Italy in a peculiar position. For eight months, until annexed by Piedmont, they were neither ruled from outside nor independent states. During this period Luigi Carlo Farini became "dictator" of a new province, containing the former

duchies of Modena and Parma and the richest part of the Papal States. Even in this book the "Province of Emilia" appears in quotation marks; yet the administrative decisions made in Emilia set the pattern for the administrative union of most of Italy.

The largest section of this book is devoted to an account of Farini's administration. The clearest and best-informed account we have, it offers instances and insights important to the interpretation of the *Risorgimento* as a whole. Though great tact was exercised in assimilating Parma to Modena so that neither would feel subordinate to the other, no such tact restrained the rapid application of Piedmontese codes and procedures. Old employees, even intendants, were retained, but Sardinian law was adopted quite independent of its merit. The commission supposed to consider alternative legal codes and local needs was largely ignored. Yet in other ways the provisional government was subjected to impressive localism. Indeed, local doubts, despite their seriousness, found no national echo in parliament.

A final section of the book deals with the new province of "Emilia" immediately after annexation. Rather quickly disillusioned, the moderates came to see that acceptance of the Piedmontese codes had not been so essential to unification after all; yet, as the author notes, the alternatives had never really been developed or even clearly discussed.

At this point, I think, the major weakness of the book becomes most apparent. It sticks too narrowly to descriptions of how particular administrative decisions were made or what the contemporary criticisms were. But the significance of the topic is rather that it lies at the center of a complex interrelationship between general political programs and local social structure, between policies and their social and economic effects. When the author delves into these matters, she says interesting things. The case for decentralization, she suggests, was gravely weakened with Garibaldi's success in the south. No one thought that a local autonomy permissible in the north could safely be permitted in the Mezzogiorno. The moderates, she notes, were more concerned to save something of the legislative and administrative authority of the former states of central Italy than they were to preserve the quality of communal life. They cared more about administrative codes than legal ones. And in centralization they sought protection against the "politicization" of local life, a life in which priests and democrats might claim too large a share. Such points suggest how much can be done with this topic. Careful analysis of the history of local administration could tell us far more than we now know about the tensions between visions of progress and social habit, about the specific changes national unification brought with it, and, more simply still, about who was hurt and who benefited by Italy's *Risorgimento*.

University of Michigan

RAYMOND GREW

ITALY AND THE GREAT WAR: POLITICS AND CULTURE, 1870-1915.

By *John A. Thayer*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. x, 463. \$10.00.)

THIS is an essay on the parallel development of political events and what might be called political culture in the Liberal Italy of the Crispi and Giolitti periods: 1888 to 1915. Professor Thayer maintains that a wise and pragmatic premier,

Giolitti, who presided over the Italian government during much of this period, was leading Italy toward effective democracy, broadening down from reform to reform. Unfortunately the cultured classes of the nation failed to understand or appreciate Giolitti and went astray after myths of Roman greatness and current European fashions of elite rule. In the war crisis of 1914-1915, Thayer holds, Giolitti fell because an alliance of the discontented and frustrated intelligentsia of Right and Left found support among highly placed reactionary politicians, and the nation pursued a mirage of imperial renewal.

In spite of the author's enviable knowledge of Italian political writing of the Liberal period, the fundamental thesis of this book is oversimple and largely mistaken. Giolitti was far more monarchy-minded and contemptuous of the electorate than Thayer realizes, and the Premier operated at the center of a web of financial, industrial, and journalistic interests that often influenced or guided what he did. On the parliamentary, administrative, and electoral plane, Giolitti was operating a machine, and Giolittian corruption was not a myth, as Thayer maintains, but a well-authenticated, systematically applied method of government. Thayer does not refute the Salvemini and Einaudi reformist case against Giolitti; he merely brushes it aside, disregarding both the political and the economic evidence that has accumulated since then. He unfortunately failed to use Giolitti's published correspondence, which, even after pruning, significantly illuminates the less creditable side of the Premier's political life: in particular, Thayer's treatment of the *Banca Romana* scandal amounts to a whitewash that existing evidence does not warrant. In short, the main value of Thayer's work along these lines is to show the negative and destructive motivation behind much of the opposition to Giolitti, but it must be said that he takes the easiest targets to shoot down.

Thayer's treatment of literary figures, like D'Annunzio and Oriani, also confuses me. These men remain bloodless bearers of ideas, with little individuality and personal development. He also loses several good opportunities to discuss the growth in Italy of a curious and special sort of Latin racism, which offers interesting parallels to developments in other European nations. Prevalent concepts of quasi-biological, quasi-historical decadence and regeneration could have been grasped and illustrated.

It is a pleasure to turn to the most positive and instructive part of the book: its concluding account of the 1915 crisis. The author makes many good points about the antiparliamentary and essentially reactionary events of May 1915, and his departure from the orthodoxies of Italian democratic history is refreshing and amply justifiable. It is unfortunate that throughout the work the editing and proofreading were done in a slipshod manner; in general, Thayer has not been well served by his publisher.

University of California, Berkeley

R. A. WEBSTER

ATTI DEL XLI CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (TRENTO, 9-13 OTTOBRE 1963). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica, Atti dei Congressi, Volume IX.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1965. Pp. 499.)

MEETING appropriately in Trent, the Forty-first Congress on the History of the *Risorgimento* had for its theme "Italy and the First World War." The texts of the

communications and discussion are published in this large volume which will be useful to all who are interested in a better understanding of Italy's role in that war.

Luigi Salvatorelli initiated the proceedings with a short paper, "Neutralism and Interventionism." It consisted chiefly of recollections of his editorial work for a little-known weekly newspaper of Giolittian coloration, *Italia nostra*, that favored "conditional neutralism" in 1914-1915.

A more important communication, "Political Parties and Public Opinion during the Great War," presented by the late Vittorio De Caprariis, stressed the heterogeneous nature of both the neutralists and the interventionists. De Caprariis proceeded to make a brilliant analysis of the impact of the war upon the various Italian political currents. The outbreak of hostilities hastened the breakup of the Giolittian political system and strengthened both the Socialists and Catholics. The Socialists, however, found themselves increasingly cut off psychologically from the rest of the population, and the Catholics moved toward a more autonomous position, renouncing the temptation to collaborate with the Liberals. For their part, the Liberals suffered bitter schisms, while the traditional forces of democracy came to be intoxicated by new poisons. Thus the old Cavourian and Mazzinian ideals emerged from the war greatly distorted and unable to withstand the new ideologies of the twentieth century. Also of interest was De Caprariis' insistence that Mussolini's switch to interventionism was motivated by the hope that war would open the way for the kind of revolutionary change in Italy that had been frustrated in the "red week" of 1914. Not until after Caporetto did Mussolini cease to be a revolutionary and turn to reactionary nationalism.

Nondomestic aspects of the war years provided the theme for three other well-researched papers: "The Idea of Nationality and the War of 1914-1918," by Angelo Tamborra; "The Final Crisis of the Austro-Hungarian Empire," by Austrian-born Adam Wandruszka; and "The Italian War in the Framework of the European Conflict," by Maurice Baumont. Taking up the subject of Italy's military and political relationship with the Western Allies during the war, Baumont observed that the latter were much annoyed by Italy's reluctance to launch an offensive against Austria in the summer of 1918. It was this consideration, he declared, that largely explained the Big Three's subsequent cavalier treatment of Italy at Versailles.

The congress ended with a long paper by Luigi Mondini, "The Military Conduct of the Italian War, 1915-1918," and a penetrating communication by economic historian Epicarmo Corbino, "The Italian Economy during the War, 1915-1918."

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

LA POLITICA DELL'ITALIA IN ALBANIA NELLE TESTIMONIANZE DEL LUOGOTENENTE DEL RE FRANCESCO JACOMONI DI SAN SAVINO. [Testimoni per la storia del nostro tempo, Collana di memorie diari e documenti, Number 39.] ([Bologna:] Cappelli Editore. [1965.] Pp. 380. L. 3,200.)

THE author was at the center of the stage in Albania from 1936 to 1943, first as Italian minister and then as viceroy. He contributes information on Mussolini's Albanian policy and on events and personalities in Albania during these crucial years. The book, however, has its limitations: it presents largely the Italian side of the story, and it leaves many questions unanswered.

After coming to power in 1924 with Yugoslav support, the future King Zog turned to Italy for assistance in building up his country. In the next few years the traditional ties between Italians and Albanians became even closer. Jacomoni was in Albania twice during this period of good relations, first as secretary of legation in 1926 and again in 1929 when he accompanied Foreign Minister Dino Grandi on an official visit. When the author returned as Italian minister in 1936, he found friction increasing between his government and King Zog. There was much hostility in Italy toward Zog, and much opposition to the idea of treating Albania as an equal. On the other hand, Zog was alarmed by Italy's peaceful penetration and increasingly suspicious of Italy's ultimate aims. Zog was delaying vital reforms and becoming more and more unpopular with his people.

In 1938 Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano considered partitioning Albania between Yugoslavia and Italy lest Germany establish a decisive influence in the country. By 1939 Italy feared the German desire for Albanian oil. In response Italy sought a closer alliance with King Zog involving the stationing of Italian soldiers in Albania and the use of Albanian airfields, ports, and communications. Zog rejected the Italian proposals, Jacomoni believes, because of English influence. When Zog opened the jails in Tirana in April 1939 and fled, the Albanians, according to the author, welcomed the Italians with enthusiasm.

Jacomoni became viceroy in 1939. He describes himself as a staunch defender of Albanian interests and insists that Italian investments and institutions were moving the country forward. He indicates, however, that Italy did not respect Albania's rights as a sovereign state and that his government offended the Albanians in many small ways, such as adding Italian emblems to the Albanian flag. Too many Italians regarded Albania as virtually an Italian colony. Mussolini sought to counterbalance dissatisfaction with Italy by encouraging Albania's irredentist ambitions, especially in the Ciameria region.

The Greek war stopped progress in Albania. Mussolini moved against Greece with the dual purpose of blocking Hitler's pressure on the eastern Mediterranean and of preventing Greece from becoming a base for English offensive operations against Italy. Italy had a more limited plan than complete military occupation of Greece; it involved the cession of the Ciameria region to Albania and a political agreement between Greece and Italy. On October 15, 1940, however, the decision was made to conquer Greece. Jacomoni boasts that he was the only important Italian to raise doubts and have reservations about the invasion of Greece, but his advice appears to have been too cautious to have carried much weight.

The author describes his efforts to help Jews from Yugoslavia escape the Germans. He also worked to secure greater Italian respect for Albanian wishes and feelings. Even before he ended his services in Albania in March 1943, Jacomoni detected growing Russian influence. Russia was the only power willing to guarantee the Albanian boundaries of 1913.

Among several important documents in the appendixes is the decision of Italy's

highest court on March 6, 1948, clearing Jacomoni of all crimes and thus restoring him to service with Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

HISTORICA: HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Volumes VI-X. (Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. 1963; 1963; 1964; 1964; 1965. Pp. 303; 233; 272; 291; 305. Kčs 41; Kčs 34.50; Kčs 41.50; Kčs 41.50; Kčs 42.)

THE Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences seeks to inform the Western world of the works of its historians through its semiannual publication, *Historica*. Articles and monographs that have appeared in Czechoslovakia have been translated into English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish. The language chosen for an article appears related to the special interests of the particular Western audience, as judged by Czech scholars. English is reserved primarily for studies of recent economic and political affairs, German for inquiries into the nationality struggle from early medieval times to the recent past. *Historica* gives evidence that Czechoslovak historians, while staying within the over-all Marxist frame of reference, have moved from the primarily polemic approach to a more scholarly one marked by painstaking documentation, including the utilization of Western sources. The traditional Czech national orientation has determined the direction of research in most of the periods covered by these volumes.

Limitations of space permit mentioning only the categories into which the *Historica* articles fall and singling out the more important selections. Medieval Central European research is represented by Josef Dobiáš, "Seit wann bilden die natürlichen Grenzen von Böhmen auch seine politische Landesgrenze?" in Volume VI; Vladimír Vavřínek, "Die Christianisierung und Kirchenorganisation Grossmährens," in Volume VII; František Graus, "Die Entstehung der mittelalterlichen Staaten in Mitteleuropa," in Volume X. Economic and social history is dealt with in Jaroslav Purš, "The Situation of the Working Class in the Czech Lands in the Phase of the Expansion and Completion of the Industrial Revolution (1849-1873)," in Volume VI; Pavla Horská, "Contribution au problème de la deuxième révolution industrielle," in Volume VII; Bohumil Bad'ura, "Apuntes sobre los orígenes del comercio vidriero entre Bohemia y México (1787-1839)," in Volume IX. Recent history largely centers on Czechoslovakia's nationality problems. Two articles dealing with the German minority are especially interesting: Jaroslav César's and Bohumil Černý's coverage of "The Policy of German Activist Parties in Czechoslovakia 1918-1938," in Volume VI, demonstrates the fact that Czechs recovered the ability to recognize diverse political attitudes among the Germans of Czechoslovakia in the interwar period. Those Germans who refused to cooperate with Konrad Henlein's Sudeten-German party are given their proper due. Antonín Šnejdár's "The Beginnings of the Sudeten Organizations in Western Germany after 1945," in Volume VIII, provides a long-overdue account of the activities that one cannot ignore if he is to comprehend some of West Germany's internal and foreign policies. Gertruda Albrechtová, in her "Zur Frage der deutschen antifaschistischen Emigrationsliteratur im tschechoslowakischen Asyl," in Volume VIII, makes an important contribution to the growing literature on

German refugees from Nazism for many of whom Prague became the center of their activities in the 1930's. Volumes VII and IX contain annotated bibliographies of works published in Czechoslovakia on the theory and history of the fine arts. A bibliography of Czechoslovak history that includes books published in 1961 and 1962 is included in Volume IX.

University of Connecticut

CURT F. BECK

BOHEMIA: JAHRBUCH DES COLLEGIUM CAROLINUM. Volume V.
(Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche. 1964. Pp. 539. DM 40.)

THIS fifth annual volume of articles, notes, and reviews to be published by the *Collegium Carolinum*, a Sudeten-German research center devoted to the study of the Bohemian lands, again focuses most of its interest on nationality problems. In contrast to previous issues, however, the authors rarely lose their historical objectivity and appear to make a sincere effort to consider all aspects of Czech-German relations.

The essays, differing in length and quality, cover a wide range of topics reaching from the Middle Ages to the present. By far the best contribution is the introductory essay by Karl Bosl dealing with German and Slav national ideologies. In a treatment distinguished by balance and absence of partiality and passion, the author analyzes the historical argumentation employed by Germany and its Slav neighbors to support their political aspirations. He shows that the romantic-liberal German view of history in its Pan-German form and the romantic-national Slavic legend stem from Herder and view German-Slav relations as a constant struggle. A critical comparison of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism leads Bosl to the study of nineteenth-century conceptions of German and Slavic national character. He concludes that the myth of the peace-loving Slav has the same roots as the legend of the heroic German. He stresses, furthermore, that both myths still dominate the present political scene and prevent any regeneration of friendly relations between the two nations.

Of special importance is the contribution by Rudolf Hilf, based mainly on Communist documents, treating the policies of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia toward the Sudeten Germans. His analysis of the early period (1918-1935) clarifies the relations between the Comintern and Czech-Sudeten-German Communist leadership. The latter only gradually came to accept the Comintern line, which advocated the right of self-determination for the Sudeten Germans, including the right to secede from the Czechoslovak Republic. The final portion of the article, describing the policies leading to the transfer of the Sudeten Germans, unfortunately suffers from national bias. The concise study by Eugen Lemberg competently examines the recent revival of Marxist philosophy in East Central Europe. Of the remainder, Josef Werlin's article on Prague Bible literature of the fourteenth century stands out. The first statistical surveys of Bohemian industry and trade (1756, 1766, and 1788) collected by Gustav Otruba are also interesting.

Although a certain lack of unity is almost unavoidable in a composite volume of this type, the essays are arranged topically and chronologically to form a readable whole. The book is well done and will be read with benefit by anyone interested in Bohemian history. It is to be hoped that in the future the *Collegium*

Carolinum will include among its contributors a still broader circle of scholars (particularly of Czech and Slovak origin) in order to increase its scope.

Detroit, Michigan

RADOMIR V. LUZA

WOJSKO POLSKIE, 1936-1939: PRÓBY MODERNIZACJI I ROZBUDOWY [Polish Armed Forces, 1936-1939: Attempts in Modernization and Expansion]. By *Eugeniusz Kozłowski*. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej. 1964. Pp. 344. Zł. 60.)

SINCE September 1939 military historians have been trying to find out why the Polish Army was defeated by Germany in a period of a few weeks. Colonel Kozłowski's book is the latest attempt to investigate this problem. He concentrates on the last four years of the Second Polish Republic, and, more specifically, on the endeavors to modernize the Polish armed forces when Hitler's aggressive intentions became apparent. After evaluating the situation of the armed forces as generally poor, Kozłowski proceeds to discuss the various branches, such as infantry, cavalry, artillery, and so forth. The discussion of these services is thorough and well documented by heretofore unused documents, and Kozłowski's conclusions seem to be correct.

It seems doubtful, however, that Kozłowski presents the whole story. He does not discuss the logistics system and fails to look into the situation of non-commissioned officers. The weakest point of the book is the generalizations. The author accuses Polish *émigré* historians of trying to defend the "bourgeois-landlord government" of the Second Republic through overemphasis on the economic and financial difficulties of Poland, ignoring facts and even falsifying the truth. Even if this were true, Kozłowski is guilty of identical sins. He misrepresents or does not mention the hostile attitude of the Soviet Union toward Poland that was demonstrated in the Russian-Polish War of 1919-1921, in the Hitler-Stalin conspiracy to partition Poland, and finally in Soviet attempts to exterminate the Polish intelligentsia.

It is, indeed, regrettable that Kozłowski's enormous and otherwise useful work had to be spoiled by his evident negative attitude toward prewar Polish leadership. One of the few things he praises is the new plan of mobilization (Plan "W"), yet he gives no credit to General Stachiewicz who was solely responsible for this plan as well as for the plan of modernization of the armed forces. Furthermore, the author's thesis—that the main cause of Poland's defeat was, above all, its social and economic system (capitalistic)—is questionable.

Kozłowski's book, very important as a source of information about the condition of the Polish armed forces that opposed Hitler in 1939, has, unfortunately, little value as a historical synthesis.

State University College, Buffalo

W. M. DRZEWIENIECKI

LITHUANIA UNDER THE SOVIETS: PORTRAIT OF A NATION, 1940-65. Edited by *V. Stanley Vardys*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. ix, 299. \$7.00.)

THIS book contains eleven articles written by Lithuanian authors in exile, experts in various fields. Three of the articles provide historical introduction. Vardys'

work on independent Lithuania is by far the best article in English ever written on this topic. Sužiedelis' article on "Lithuania from Medieval to Modern Times" is too short, omitting many important facts and containing some misinterpretations. Ivinskis' article on Lithuania during World War II presents valuable information but not a complete picture. The editor's article on the partisan movement in Lithuania after World War II is an interesting addition to Tauras' *Guerilla Warfare on the Amber Coast*.

Six interesting articles of uneven quality are devoted to the administrative, economic, and educational system and the cultural and religious life of Lithuania under the Soviet regime since 1945. Zunde contradicts himself in his discussion of the industrialization of Lithuania by claiming that only a small portion of its industrial production is intended for domestic use and that production of agricultural machinery, mineral fertilizers, and electric energy is underdeveloped, revealing later in the text that the Soviets have built an enormous thermodynamic power plant and huge fertilizer and machine factories. More criticisms can be made, but they are minor in comparison with the value of the book as a source of information on a somewhat neglected but historically and politically interesting area in Europe.

The book shows a glaring paradox in this great age of liberation and emancipation of scores of nations often rising from a primitive and semiprimitive stage to independent statehood, where the highly developed Baltic nations have not only been deprived of their statehood, but have not even been allowed to exist as satellites. The authors actually reveal grave dangers to the very survival of these nations. The Baltic States lost their independence as a result of the sinister pact between Stalin and Hitler in 1939 which subjected them to Stalin's terror. The new Soviet regime has eased their situation, has assisted them in their spectacular achievements in industry and science, which benefit the Soviet Union, but has badly damaged their agriculture, has reduced the Baltic nations to a bare majority in their countries, and certainly does not intend to restore their independence. The authors point out, however, that independence is what the Baltic nations want above all else.

The book is equipped with footnotes, a list of periodicals, a selected bibliography, and an index. Further detailed study of the strategically important area is badly needed.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

STALIN'S RUSSIA: AN HISTORICAL RECONSIDERATION. By *Francis B. Randall*. [Historical Reconsiderations Series.] (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. 328. \$6.95.)

ESSENTIALLY, this book is a brief summary of the history of the Soviet Union between 1924 and 1953, but it also provides a brief biography of Joseph Stalin. Mr. Randall must do this because he believes that Soviet history can only be explained in terms of the beliefs and personality of Stalin. Stalin, he says, was probably the most important man who ever lived—and one of the two or three worst men. The content of this well-organized summary is not novel. The author discusses institutions such as the secret police and policies in both domestic and foreign affairs in familiar terms. There is some element of novelty, however, in the organization of

material and the literary style. The organization is topical rather than chronological; the style is usually matter of fact and realistic, with occasional traces of brashness.

It should be said in praise of Randall that, in addition to summarizing the works of Merle Fainsod and other basic authors, he peppers his text with extremely interesting bits of data. The critical reader will question some of Randall's assertions. Sometimes highly significant statements, such as that concerning Stalin's alleged offer to resign in the early 1930's, are not documented.

Up to a point this book is a useful compendium of knowledge. At times the reader gets new insights into the nature of Stalin's political strategy. These are, however, minor notes in a generally bland and undifferentiated descriptive account. To be sure, such an account may be useful to the student or general reader unfamiliar with the vast literature now available on Soviet affairs. Randall is objective in the use of his sources, and he is also reasonably inclusive. However, although he frequently refers to the problem of whether or not Stalin was a paranoiac, he fails to make use of the valuable insights of Robert C. Tucker on this question. Along the same lines, he seems to be unaware of the important contributions made by Boris I. Nicolaevsky to the analysis of Soviet domestic and foreign politics. Perhaps because of the omission of Nicolaevsky's writings from his sources, Randall underestimates the degree of internal tension in the Soviet Union in the early 1930's.

Though this book may indeed be a good introduction to its gigantic subject, its impact will be limited for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most important is its lack of clear and firm positions on major issues. In spite of its defects, however, the book is quite useful. It is factual, objective, and honest. Also, in spite of its lack of interpretive depth and its generally unexciting style, it is instructive. It could, however, have been far more valuable if both author and publisher had been more painstaking. One senses that Randall is a promising scholar who could have produced a much better book if he had taken more time to prune and to polish, to meditate and to revise. As for the publishers, more careful editing would have eliminated annoying repetitiveness.

Yale University

FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN

Near East

JEAN SAUVAGET'S INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE MUSLIM EAST: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE. Based on the second edition as recast by *Claude Cahen*. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xxi, 252. \$6.95.)

SINCE its original appearance in 1943, Jean Sauvaget's *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman: Éléments de bibliographie* has been the primary vade mecum for the serious beginning student of premodern Islamic history, especially in so far as the central Muslim world is concerned. Not only that, but it is safe to say that, despite the original author's modest, "Ce livre s'adresse aux étudiants des

écoles françaises, et non aux érudits," this is surely the first book to which most scholars turn when seeking bibliographical aid in a field outside their immediate specialty. The success of and need for this work are demonstrated by the fact that it was reissued three years after publication with a brief supplement, and that, following Sauvaget's tragic death in 1950, a thoroughly revised edition (1961) was brought out by Professor Claude Cahen. This volume was prepared under the aegis of the Near Eastern Center at UCLA with Cahen's active participation and, as he says in the preface, "is much more than a translation; it is a new and corrected edition."

The basic format, unchanged, divides the subject matter into three categories: "The Sources of Muslim History," "Tools of Research and General Works," and "Historical Bibliography." Each of these is, in turn, subdivided into a total of twenty-five chapters. The Cahen revision of the logic of the original Sauvaget subdivisions represents, incidentally, not the least of the improvements. One of the peculiar charms of the work, in all versions, has been the coupling of sharp critical insight with a light Gallic approach throughout the text.

Inevitably, no one will be fully satisfied with someone else's choice in a work of this scope, and, inevitably, there will be some flaws. Each specialist will look most sharply in the area of his immediate interest in judging the book. In the case of the Arabian Peninsula there are noticeable omissions. In addition, a rather large number of petty errors of various types could also be listed; one could ask for indexes other than one merely listing authors' names; some objection to the underplaying of scholarship in Arabic might be raised; and some criticism of the English style would not be unjustified. On balance, however, the work represents a cumulative achievement of great value, and it will continue to fill a vital need.

New York University

R. BAYLY WINDER

OBSERVATIONS SUR L'ÉTAT ACTUEL DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN. By Henry Grenville. Edited by Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 110. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Ehrenkreutz' introduction is perhaps the high light of this small volume. In it he gives a brief account of Grenville's career, the origin of his report on the Ottoman Empire, his methods of research, his methods of presenting his findings, and the historical significance of his contribution.

Henry Grenville apparently knew little or nothing about the Ottoman Empire when he went to Constantinople as British ambassador in February 1762. From his arrival until his departure in October 1765 his principal concerns seem to have been to do what was required of him and to get back to England as soon as possible. He seems to have been generally unsympathetic toward Turkish things and to have been prompted to his investigations more by official requirements than by natural interest and curiosity.

The information in Grenville's report relates mostly to Turkish military and naval strength, the Empire's sources of revenue and expenses, the nature and condition of commerce in various parts of the Empire, Britain's commercial position in Turkey compared to that of other nations (especially France), and the manufactures and population of the Empire. Obviously, these topics cannot be too

well treated in seventy-four printed pages. Grenville ventured to correct the accounts of Rycaut and Marsigli (his two principal written sources) on minor points, but he added little to their work. Nor does one find in his account anything to alter the general picture of the Empire left by such authors as Habesci. The report is interesting, however, for the insight it offers on Britain's attitudes toward commerce before it became the industrial leader of the world.

The editor did not attempt any "emendation of French language flaws," but he could have simplified things for the reader by eliminating Grenville's (or the copyist's) now-unnecessary capitalization. The notes sometimes explain the obvious and leave the less obvious unexplained. In places proofreading could have been more exact. However, a good index and a topical summary in English aid the reader in using Grenville's report.

Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh

ROBERT CARLTON DELK

REVOLUTIONS AND MILITARY RULE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE NORTHERN TIER. By *George M. Haddad*. (New York: Robert Speller and Sons. 1965. Pp. 251. \$6.00.)

Books and articles on the military in the Middle East are multiplying. Professor Haddad has embarked on what might be a valuable comparative study. This volume, covering Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, is to have a sequel on Arab countries. Unfortunately the attempt in the first volume does not quite come off. This may be because the study is not clearly focused. Is the aim to examine primarily military *coups d'état*, military regimes, the officer class, revolutions of all sorts, or reforming regimes generally? All these are discussed here, but none is studied in sufficient depth to furnish much new information or analysis or the sort of provocative insight that marks some of Dankwart Rustow's work on the Turkish military. The specialist will be disappointed.

Much reliable information is, however, included. After a short chapter on pre-nineteenth-century developments, a long one covers 1789–1918. Its most detailed and original section is a rather sympathetic, yet critical, picture of Arabi's movement. The Ottoman revolutions of 1876 and 1908, the Persian revolution of 1906, and some of the reform efforts in Egypt, Turkey, and Iran are also discussed. Other chapters consider the Kemalist movement and the Turkish revolution of 1960; Reza Khan's *coup* of 1921, the Zahedi *coup* of 1953, and the present Shah's reforms; Amanullah's reforms in Afghanistan and the 1929 *coups*; and the two *coups* of 1958 in Pakistan and Ayub Khan's "conditional democracy." Haddad gives considerable praise to the Turks, to Mohammed Reza Shah, and to Ayub for their efforts toward democracy, progress, and stability.

Some of the comparative aspects of the study obviously await Volume II, but enough pointed remarks occur here to indicate that Haddad considers military *coups* and regimes in Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan more effective in the interests of the people than most of those in Arab lands. Some of his comparative generalizations are sensible but obvious; "Revolutions and coups d'état were thus caused either by external forces and the threat of foreign domination, or by internal conditions in which a despotic or corrupt and incompetent government held power. Sometimes they were caused by both. . . ." Some of his conclusions may be impor-

tant, for example, that the only lasting reforms by military leaders are those that a popular majority accepts. This does not, however, rest on any detailed examination of the evidence.

Thirty good photographs of individuals are included. Typographical errors riddle the book.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

MODERN IRAN. By *Peter Avery*. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xvi, 527. \$11.00.)

WESTERN historians have not paid much attention to modern Iran. Since Sir Percy Sykes published the second volume of his *History of Persia* fifty years ago, there have appeared in English only monographs on more or less specialized topics such as the Persian Gulf, oil, the defense of India, or Anglo-Soviet relations in Iran. As far as I know there are no general histories of modern Iran in French, German, or Italian, while in Russian M. S. Ivanov's *Ocherk istorii Irana* is important primarily as an example of Soviet historiography of the Stalin era.

Peter Avery's attempt to survey the history of Persia in the last hundred years is a major undertaking. After rapidly sketching the background in the first four chapters, he tells in considerable detail the story of Persia's decline, of the encroachment of Western imperialism, of the failure of the revolution (1906-1911), of the chaos caused by the First World War, of the rise and fall of Reza Shah, and of the developments since the end of the Second World War.

The first half of the book is the weaker. The sociological speculations on the origin of the Babi movement are not convincing. The evaluation of such political figures as Mirza Hoseyn Khan Moshir od-Dowleh and Mirza Malkam Khan is of dubious validity, while the analysis of the causes of the Revolution leaves much to be desired.

The second half, dealing with the events after World War I, is much stronger. The author presents a detailed and generally fair picture of Reza Shah's reign. Undoubtedly his personal experience of the Mosaddeq and post-Mosaddeq periods has contributed much to his understanding of the most recent past. His sympathy for the Persians, knowledge of their language, and admiration for their culture are evident, though he is never uncritical of them. Avery strives to be objective in his evaluation of British policies as well. The measure of his success can be gauged by a quick comparison of his views with those of his compatriot Sykes.

The greatest weakness of the book lies in its inadequate treatment of Russia's role. Avery does not use Russian sources, not even the indispensable *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v epokhu imperializma*, nor the *Sbornik diplomaticheskikh dokumentov kasaiushchikhsia sobytii v Persii s kontsa 1906 g. po iul' 1909 g.*, though these collections have been available for many years. As a result of neglecting Russia, which was the single most important factor in Persian history between 1804 and 1915, the entire work is strangely misshapen.

Yet in spite of its considerable shortcomings, the book is valuable. It is a pioneering attempt at synthesis. It constructs for the first time a continuous narrative and provides many striking insights into the character of modern Persian society and of its leading personalities.

Yale University

F. KAZEMZADEH

LEBANON: IMPROBABLE NATION. A STUDY IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Leila M. T. Meo*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 246. \$6.50.)

THROUGHOUT 1958 the Arab countries from Algeria to Iraq were almost continuously the center of world interest. A series of dramatic developments initiated by the merger of Egypt and Syria into the United Arab Republic led to the violent overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy and insurrection in Lebanon. The Lebanese crisis was particularly interesting because it directly involved both the United Nations and the United States. The former held debates and sent observers, while the latter dispatched troops at the request of Lebanese President Camille Chamoun.

Although the republic of Lebanon was established only forty-five years ago by French occupation forces, its characteristics were well defined hundreds of years before by its geography, religious composition, and socioeconomic situation. The 1958 crisis was compounded of traditional ingredients plus some new elements introduced by the cold war and the neutralist policies actively promoted by UAR President Nasser. Lebanon refused to break off relations with Britain and France during the Suez crisis of 1956 and was the only Arab state to accept the Eisenhower Doctrine and open alignment with the West. The fear of forcible integration of Lebanon into the UAR mingled with the desire to retain office impelled Chamoun to indicate that he contemplated securing an amendment to the constitution to enable him to assume a second term. The leaders and rank and file of the opposition and indeed some members of the President's own party objected very strongly to this deviation (although not unprecedented) from Lebanese tradition.

The author's purpose in this book was to explain Chamoun's actions and the reactions they elicited. Both stemmed from long-established practices and customs. Miss Meo skillfully demonstrates the continuity of Lebanese political behavior and institutions under feudalism, Turkish hegemony, European colonialism, French mandate, and present-day republic. Her book is a lucid study in depth of the politics of a modern democratic Arab state, with little attention paid, however, to economic and social factors. The author systematically exploited a variety of English, French, and Arab sources. In addition, she gained valuable insight into the motivation of many of the leaders in the constitutional struggle, including Chamoun, by interviewing them less than two years later.

Meo also presents a sharply critical analysis of the Eisenhower Doctrine and the US Marine landing that logically flowed from it. She does not treat the complex legal aspects of the action, nor does she discuss UN involvement in detail, for these apparently were matters falling outside the scope of the task she set for herself.

Middle East Institute

SIDNEY GLAZER

Africa

THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF AFRICA. Edited by *Rupert Emerson* and *Martin Kilson*. [The Global History Series. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. x, 175. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

THIS volume assembles a wide selection of excerpts from the speeches and writings of the best-known African leaders who, characteristically, are in search of a political identity that will command a distinctive place for independent Africa within contemporary world society. The excerpts are well chosen from sources not commonly quoted nor easily available, yet they are important not only for the thinking of their authors but also for the groups the latter represent or seek to lead. The text that introduces the book and links together its four sections, entitled, rather overambitiously, "Reactions to Colonialism: Self-Identity in African Development," "Ideas and Context of African Nationalism," "Policies and Methods of African Political Parties," and "Inter-African Problems and Pan-Africanism," highlights the issues that the excerpts illustrate and provides a running commentary that in itself is a useful summary of developments in African thought, action, and achievements. This work contributes to our resources for enlarging the understanding of Africa and Africans and will undoubtedly be widely used in introductory courses on Africa both in contemporary history and the social sciences.

To present African thought and aspirations through the words of African leaders has some major advantages. The concepts that are emphasized are those most meaningful for the Africans themselves. In no other way, moreover, could the contrast have been so sharply etched between the earlier aim of educated Africans to be accepted by the dominant group within the colonial situation and the contemporary one of asserting not only the right to govern themselves but also their pride in being distinctively themselves. A further contrast is that between the attitudes of African leaders from French- and English-speaking Africa, important both in understanding the relations of each to their former metropolitan power and the associations they now seek within Africa itself.

Despite all the above advantages the quotations necessarily fail to provide a rounded picture of the political processes at work in African countries. No political leader anywhere voices his less reputable ambitions or openly describes his political tactics. Part of the reason why there has been so much disillusionment with contemporary Africa is that so much publicity has been given to the high-sounding aspirations and moral tone with which African leaders have voiced their long-range objectives and not enough to the overwhelming problems they face and the impact of the dangerous international milieu within which they operate. Thus their efforts to mold divergent ethnic groups into a cohesive national unity are often condemned as violating their own self-affirmed goals—as indeed they do—without an understanding of the unpublicized but serious tensions they face and the needs that drive them to methods that are often accepted, however unwisely, as unavoidable in mature states, but censured in new ones.

Thus a book such as this should be used with some caution. Handled in context for the purpose of presenting the changing modes of thought and far-reaching aims of African leaders, it can perform a most useful function. But no one who hopes to understand modern politics in Africa should forget that the political process is an immensely difficult one and that the gulf between hopes and aspirations on the one hand and the implementation of policy on the other is necessarily a wide one. African leaders have been unusually vocal about their objectives, and it is important for us to be fully aware of them, but to understand political realities in Africa today requires another type of analysis, which the

editors of this book and other scholars increasingly bring us in works that should be used side by side with this one.

Northwestern University

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER

THE PENETRATION OF AFRICA: EUROPEAN EXPLORATION IN NORTH AND WEST AFRICA TO 1815. By *Robin Hallett*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xxii, 458. \$10.50.)

RECENT growth of historical knowledge about Africa has had an interesting consequence for the history of European activities on that continent. Formerly, this was the only widely known form of African history. Now, in the light of new knowledge about African societies, even this is found to be in need of revision, and Robin Hallett's work on the history of exploration is frankly revisionist in this sense. He does not venture far into the inner workings of African societies, but he re-examines the history of European travel with a consciousness that African societies had inner workings.

This volume follows Hallett's earlier contributions to the field through his editorial work with the records of the African Association and the journals of the Lander brothers. He now returns with a broader approach in the first of a projected two-volume history of exploration in North and West Africa up to 1830. The style is popular, the book being clearly designed for a nonprofessional audience, but it is far more than another review of explorers' journals. It is both an original synthesis and a new contribution based in part on new research. Hallett unearths, for example, many important but half-forgotten explorers like Paul Isert, U. J. Seetzen, and Heinrich Röntgen. He also examines the European setting to show why explorers were sent out, rather than merely dealing with their discoveries overseas. As might be expected, he is especially at home with Sir Joseph Banks and the African Association, and his own contribution is most impressive in the sections dealing with their work.

But this strength may also be the cause of a counterbalancing weakness. More than half the book is devoted to the period 1788-1815, and much of this is given over to the work of the African Association. Readers should know, therefore, that the work falls short of being the general history of African exploration implied by the title. At some points the basis of selectivity is obscure: Hallett sometimes seems to emphasize the movement along unfamiliar routes at the expense of important additions to European knowledge. The great ethnographic field work of Thomas Winterbottom, for example, is not mentioned, though his published work appears in the bibliography, and Winterbottom is mentioned in the text in connection with his brother, who traveled inland from Sierra Leone to Timbo. Apparently the brother who stayed in one place and conducted really important research is passed over in favor of the one who made one short exploration into the interior. Far more serious, if a general history of exploration was intended, are Hallett's unfamiliarity with the wealth of French Africanist research and a marked neglect of the French explorers. The book remains, however, the most authoritative history so far of British exploration in North and West Africa up to 1815.

University of Wisconsin

PHILIP D. CURTIN

URBANIZATION AND MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA. Edited by *Hilda Kuper*. [Published under the auspices of the African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 227. \$6.95.)

DURING much of the period of imperial rule, political frontiers meant little to West Africans, who moved from one colony to another without difficulty. Today's rulers have the task of stabilizing new states by strengthening the weak framework created by European partition. Contact with the wider world developed labor markets of large geographical scope; thus "changes in the price of peanuts in Senegal . . . have some effect on the supply of labor to the Ivory Coast. . . ." The complex interaction between migration and political and economic development is therefore one of the key processes in modern West African history.

The essays in this book originated at an interdisciplinary seminar at the African Studies Center at Los Angeles in the fall of 1962. Selected scholars in the fields of geography, history, linguistics, anthropology, political sociology, and economics were asked to contribute and to deal explicitly with methodological issues. Careful seminar planning and first-rate editorial work lift this collection above the general level of interdisciplinary projects which have marked the mushrooming of African studies. An excellent introduction by the editor sets each contribution in perspective and incorporates the main points of the seminar discussion. Occasionally the individual contribution disappoints after such masterly condensation. The geographical and political essays are somewhat thin. Some contributors, too, have been overtaken by the publication of major works since completing their essays. Michael Banton's study of Freetown elegantly reworks the material he published in the 1950's without reference to Fyfe's and Porter's important books. But despite such double bad luck, he earns his keep with illuminating insights into the general problems of group identification and African nationalism.

John D. Fage, as the historian in the group, ingeniously uses oral tradition and the clues provided by material culture to suggest the processes of traditional urban settlement. He is as methodologically self-conscious as any of the other contributors and well aware of the risks inherent in such "conjectural history." It is significant of the trend of African studies in general, and African history in particular, that many historians, outside the ranks of specialists in African history, will find the essays by anthropologists closer to their notion of historical orthodoxy than Fage's bold speculations. Elliott P. Skinner's examination of Mossi labor migration, William B. Schwab's account of the Yoruba city of Oshogbo, and Horace M. Miner's analysis of urban influences on rural Hausa demonstrate how much imaginative social history is contained in anthropological studies of cultural change. Joseph H. Greenberg on language and Elliot J. Berg on economics provide wide-ranging and imaginative surveys.

All of this book is written in serviceable and comprehensible prose. Should the going get tough, however, the reader can always turn back to the splendid introduction for refreshment and illumination.

University of York

H. S. WILSON

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL AFRICA: THE MAKING OF MALAWI AND ZAMBIA, 1873-1964. By *Robert I. Rotberg*. [Written

under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 362. \$8.75.)

PROFESSOR Rotberg has given students of African history a detailed and thoroughly documented study of the creation of Malawi and Zambia and much information on the formation and collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. No other scholar has written so full and reliable an account of this recent and complex history. Rotberg had access to hitherto unused official archives and to private correspondence, sources that he supplemented by interviews with many of the European and African participants in the events of the last decades of a century of history.

No one can read this story without being impressed by the dizzy speed of change in Africa. African grievances were the standard ones: taxation, loss of land, discrimination, high prices, economic exploitation, poor working conditions, interference with religion, and outright brutality. The inability of the white settlers and Africans to understand each other was almost absolute. Complaints by Africans accomplished nothing; thus they felt compelled to organize themselves for defense, at first in religious groups, separatist churches, and welfare societies, and, finally, in colony-wide political parties seeking the power to redress their grievances. Those in power learned that by giving nothing they lost virtually everything.

This is a study of an explosion, so rapid are the changes described, so dynamic are the forces that operate. One cannot help asking what will happen when independence puts the brake on rapid change to frustrate hopes for an immediate utopia. A postscript on events during 1964-1965 in Malawi is part of the answer to that question.

This book is necessary reading for those who associate colonial maladministration in Africa with Germany and Belgium, about whose policies much was understandably written in the early years of the century. It will shock some critics of German and Belgian colonial rule to see that Britons were guilty of many of the same acts of maladministration as those for which Germany ostensibly lost its colonies and for which Belgium came close to losing the Congo. The book makes it clear that racist discrimination and economic exploitation are inherent in all colonial systems and that people in the metropole lack the understanding needed to effect reforms. The total disregard of African wishes and interests at the time of the creation of the Central African Federation makes exceedingly sorry reading.

I cannot escape the thought that Rotberg was somewhat hurried in preparing the book for publication. The care exercised in gathering evidence is not apparent in the final presentation with one serious misspelling and frequent inattention to the precise meaning of words.

Yale University

HARRY R. RUDIN

ETHIOPIA: A NEW POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Richard Greenfield*. [Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. viii, 515. \$10.00.)

Nor since the appearance in 1948 of Margery Perham's *The Government of Ethiopia* has a book been published that adequately relates the Ethiopian past to a

detailed, truthful, and openly critical analysis of contemporary politics in Ethiopia. Either the words of earlier writers have been thoughtlessly reshaped, the more lurid aspects of Ethiopian life and legend have been unduly emphasized, or the unpleasant realities of Ethiopian society and politics have been glossed over. There have been only two important exceptions to this pattern: Donald Levine's *Wax and Gold* (1965), a sociological study of the Amhara, and this book by Greenfield. These two authors have given highly relevant analyses that should go far to replace the myths that predominate in writings about Ethiopia and much information that has not appeared in print and has until now been available only to politically active Ethiopians and to a handful of competent and objective Amharic-speaking foreigners who have lived in Ethiopia in recent years.

After surveying the course of Ethiopian history from its pre-Christian Axumite glory to the decay and disintegration of the early nineteenth century and the resurgence of a vigorous empire under Tewodros, Yohannes IV, and Menelik II, Greenfield devotes most of the book to the rise of Tafari Makonnen, his reign as Haile Selassie I, and the unsuccessful *coup d'état* of 1960. Throughout the historical narrative, references to contemporary Ethiopia are interspersed, always with relevance and often with great insight. In his treatment of Ethiopian resistance during the Italian occupation he prepares the way for the reinterpretation of Ethiopian history that must take place after the death of Haile Selassie.

Greenfield has displayed the greatest ingenuity in his deft handling of the Borgialike tales of scandal and illegitimacy that are such an important part of Ethiopian political life. Unlike most writers, who use such scandalmongering as the basis for supposedly factual accounts of Ethiopia, he demonstrates its importance not for fact finding but for understanding the climate of Ethiopian politics and court intrigue. Thus scandal is revealed to be indicative of a mood and style of politics rather than a reflection of reality. Even more revealing is his interpretation of the part played by Haile Selassie.

Lastly, Greenfield is a superb reporter and analyst of recent events. Always mindful of both the heavy hand of the Ethiopian past and the pressures for change among the modernizing elements in the military, the bureaucracy, and the university, he gives a brilliant analysis of the 1960 *coup* based on a knowledge of Amharic sources, familiarity with Ethiopia's underground press, and personal observations of which the validity is corroborated by other foreigners who have had the opportunity to investigate politics in Ethiopia. If the names of Girmame and Mengistu Neway, leaders of the *coup*, and their vision of a different Ethiopia become more widely known, it will be largely because this book describes so well the conservatism of the old order and the stirrings within Ethiopia of a movement more in keeping with modernizing trends elsewhere in Africa.

University of Illinois, Chicago

ROBERT L. HESS

HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA. Volume II. Edited by *Vincent Harlow* and *E. M. Chilver*. Assisted by *Alison Smith*. With an introduction by *Margery Perham*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. li, 766. \$13.45.)

WHEN the *History of East Africa* project was originally organized nearly eight years ago, interested scholars confidently expected that it would produce a

definitive treatment of an important region. They also hoped that the methods employed to rewrite the history of this area and the very manner of its presentation—the editors of the first volume indeed promised a radical reassessment of the precolonial and colonial past—would provide a paradigm worthy of imitation in other African contexts.

Volume I (1963) proved a great disappointment. Its diverse chapters not only failed to examine or to take account of the then available sources of information; they offered nothing very radical, and largely approached their separate subjects along unexciting paths. It was, moreover, badly arranged and poorly written.

Like the first, the recently published second volume falls far short of the original promise. It is in no sense definitive, or even comprehensive. If generally accurate, there are some serious omissions. Among the contributors are a few who have done virtually no research among the apposite original sources. Furthermore, in only a few cases has the subject matter been approached freshly. For the most part, this volume, which covers the period 1885–1945, adds surprisingly little to our understanding of the recent history of East Africa.

Fortunately, Volume II includes several contributions that redeem an otherwise workmanlike but uninspiring collection: Christopher Wrigley's essay on the pattern of economic life in Kenya; Cyril Ehrlich's critical examination of economic behavior in Uganda; and Anthony Low's account of the conquest and early administration of Kenya and Uganda. Margery Perham distinguishes between the principle of Indirect Rule as Lord Lugard designed it and indirect rule as introduced into and practiced in East Africa; Cranford Pratt writes on Uganda from 1919 to 1945; George Bennett summarizes his already published work on the settlers in Kenya; and Keith Sorrenson's appendix on Kenya land policy is also interesting.

The least satisfactory chapters, by W. O. Henderson and O. F. Raum, deal with German East Africa. For the period before 1898 they add little to the chapter by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville in Volume I. Raum uses outmoded sources and epitomizes an approach that is as misleading as it is "quaint."

Frequently repetitious within themselves, the chapters in the present volume also often repeat or contradict matter contained in companion chapters. The bibliography includes only a select list of printed articles and books, but is otherwise full, useful, and much better arranged than the bibliography in the first volume. The index is reasonably complete, if in some cases fairly uninformative.

Harvard University

ROBERT I. ROTBERG

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE CREATION OF NORTHERN RHODESIA, 1880–1924. By *Robert I. Rotberg*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 240. \$6.50.)

THE best thing about this monograph is its bibliography, which would support a meaty, analytical study in depth of missionary activity in Northern Rhodesia. It is not needed for this arid listing of who established what, where, and when, nor for the superficial narration of the strange story of how certain men carved out little theocracies for themselves, the "elect," whose righteousness permitted them to "punish" African "sin" by flogging, and which underlay their attitude that even

in the bonds of Christ there was more than a "shade of difference" between His white and black believers. Such missionary behavior requires an immediate explanation, not put into an appendix, showing that the men who practiced this *baaskap* were fulfilling a deep psychological need for ego compensation after consistent rejection by conventional religious bodies (including the well-fed, older Nonconformist groups) and the social strata they served in late nineteenth-century Britain. Why this key should be an afterthought in an appendix is incomprehensible. Such men naturally resented poaching on "their" land by missionaries from these more solid religious groups, whose representatives, however tolerant they might be of African culture, significantly accepted religious apartheid once a European settler element had appeared in the territory.

Equally incomprehensible is the lack of any discussion of relations between missions and the British South Africa Chartered Company, although the title of the book commits the author to make such an investigation. Admittedly, BSA records are not readily available, but surely in the vast amount of missionary archival material carried in the bibliography there must be some information about this crucial matter. Did the theocrats welcome or dislike company territorial authority? Did traditional missionary hostility toward European settlement operate in Northern Rhodesia or not? Colonial Office records, which are open, would give some information, but the author has ignored them. What was the attitude of mission groups, both in the field and "at home," toward the replacement of company by crown colony administration? Again, the title of the work gives the reader the right to find these things, but he does not. Instead, he encounters a welter of cataloguing with rare flashes of insight into the problems of cultural divergency, typified by missionary attitudes about polygamy. But these insights are too few and the intervals between them too long to rescue this monograph from futility.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

BRITISH SUPREMACY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1899-1907. By G. H. L. Le May.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. 229. \$4.00.)

IN spite of his title, Le May's chief concern is the interplay of political and military necessities during the Boer War. He pillories the harsh military measures of the British commanders, Lords Roberts and Kitchener, measures too often pursued without adequate concern for long-term political consequences. Here, while details and nuances are new, much familiar ground is traversed: farm burning, the "concentration camps," and the Milner-Kitchener contest about peace negotiations. His most original contributions concern the rebellions in Cape Colony and the clash of martial law with civil government. A thirty-seven-page first chapter says nothing new about the origins and causes of the Boer War. In the closing two chapters Le May reviews Milner's well-known political failures during the reconstruction era in the Transvaal and presents some new information on the Liberal grant of self-government to this troubled colony in 1906-1907. In general, Le May shows that Milner brought on the Boer War, harassed the military with advice, demanded unconditional surrender, and exercised arbitrary powers in the reconstruction—all in a quest for "British Supremacy." To Milner, supremacy re-

quired, besides Anglicizing the Boers, submerging all Afrikaners beneath a loyal English-speaking majority not only in the Transvaal (as Le May shows) but in South Africa as a whole. Milner's critics denounced this illiberal view of "British Supremacy" as attempting to stand imperial interests in South Africa upon one leg; hence their concern with minimizing the hurt of rebellion and war and with reconciliation. Le May seems content to query the Liberals and to criticize Milner along familiar lines. South Africa is shown set upon a tragic course for which he suggests no alternatives. In his conclusion he asserts that a cruel war and commando discipline, the emergence of vigorous young leaders, and Milner's Anglicizing policy were decisive in the development of Afrikaner nationalism. This sidespots the problem of explaining Afrikaner disunity from 1910 to 1948.

Looking at the book as a whole, one also finds important facets of the subject omitted entirely. Since there is no bibliography or discussion of sources, the range of Le May's research must be judged from his footnotes. Unhappily he often fails to give a full citation. Apparently Le May made a thorough search of the Milner and Chamberlain papers. The Salisbury, Bryce, and Courtney papers also appear in many notes. Some volumes from the Colonial Office Archives are cited showing limited use of this vast resource, but the Kitchener, Roberts, and War Office papers, also available in the Public Record Office, are neglected. More surprising, in a book by a Witwatersrand University professor, private papers and government archives in South Africa seem virtually ignored. Some well-known secondary books that should be mentioned are not. Le May has skimmed his subject without fully developing or probing all the materials relating to it. It is unfortunate that he did not try to do something more definitive because his ability is evident. He mobilizes evidence skillfully and holds the reader's interest by commendably lucid narrative.

California State College, Long Beach

RICHARD H. WILDE

Asia and the East

LE MARXISME ET L'ASIE, 1853-1964. Texts translated and presented by *Stuart Schram* and *Hélène Carrère d'Encausse*. [Collection U, Series "Idées politiques."] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 493. 18 fr.)

A LITTLE more than a century ago Karl Marx, then engaged in elaborating his socialist ideas, turned his attention to the theoretical problems posed by the Taiping rebellion in China. Despite the fact that China's society and economy raised numerous fundamental and intriguing problems for socialist theoreticians, both Marx and his disciples remained for years thereafter European-centered in their outlook and concerns. But after the Bolshevik revolution, when Marxist-Leninist thought and influence seeped into the East, especially China, the nagging philosophical issues previously skirted by Marxists emerged as paramount challenges to the theory and practice of world socialist revolution. In our own day Marxism has increasingly become Asia-centered, and the inherent "contradictions" between theory and practice have been limned more sharply than ever before. The evolution of Marxism from its original European orientation to its more recent Asian, that is, Chinese, manifestation is the subject of this volume.

Schram and D'Encausse, distinguished specialists on the history of Communism, divide their study into two parts. The first is a long interpretive essay examining the development of Marxism from its former exclusive concerns with Western European capitalist society to the more recent and overriding preoccupation with Chinese agrarianism, from Marxism to Maoism. For students of the history of world Communism the course pursued by the authors is generally familiar, and though the conclusions are not strikingly new, the issues are presented sharply and cogently. The dilemma of Marxist-based revolutionaries, struggling to apply theory to "objective" conditions and, conversely, to tailor interpretations of practical situations to conform to preconceived doctrines, is excellently illuminated. So too are the "contradictions" between the imperatives of revolution and the compulsions of revolutionaries.

The second and larger part of the volume is a carefully selected, well-integrated collection of documents drawn from the vast corpus of Marxist-Leninist literature. It sets forth the pronouncements of Marxist luminaries of the past century on Chinese problems and affairs and such correlated questions as nationalism, colonialism, and the significance of peasant matters for socialist revolution. It is noteworthy that the spokesmen on these issues have with increasing frequency been leaders of the Chinese Communist camp, whose apodictic statements on Marxist theory have long since replaced their earlier obiter dicta. Nothing more than these documents underscores the progressive extension of the spectrum of "Marxist" concerns during the past forty or fifty years. They also furnish invaluable perspectives on the growth of the Sino-Soviet split of the last decade.

Brooklyn College

HYMAN KUBLIN

AFTER IMPERIALISM: THE SEARCH FOR A NEW ORDER IN THE FAR EAST, 1921-1931. By *Akira Iriye*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 22.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 375. \$9.50.)

JAPAN's Foreign Office archives, opened in 1945, have given diplomatic historians unparalleled opportunities for clarifying vast areas of that complex and wide-ranging interplay of national interests that led to World War II. The results of their efforts, however, have been rather disappointing. Faced with the formidable task of exploiting large amounts of material in a somewhat esoteric language, and affected by an almost compulsive preoccupation with Japanese expansionism, Western scholars have not moved much beyond the investigation of specific incidents and movements related directly to the outbreak of the war. Akira Iriye, however, grapples with the whole of international relations in the Far East. Although his analysis has a Japanese focus and is limited to the transitional period between 1921 and 1931, he helps us to see, far more clearly, those amazing changes that made the allies of World War I into enemies during World War II.

The author's developmental structure is shaped by the conclusion that the pre-World War I system of imperialist diplomacy was undermined and transformed in two fundamentally different ways: by Japan's unilateral efforts to strengthen its position in China, and by the support that three other rapidly growing countries (the United States, the Soviet Union, and China) gave to the nationalist aspirations of the colonial and semicolonial nations of Asia. The force for change exerted by

the US was epitomized in such slogans as "national sovereignty" and "self-determination," and that emanating from the Soviet Union was named "a world-wide struggle against Imperialism." China's role was more dynamic, for it involved a "self-conscious assertion of nationalism." In analyzing the interaction between these forces the author sees three distinct phases in the ten-year breakdown of the "old order," and each phase is made the subject of a separate part of the book.

Part One, "The Soviet Initiative," is centered on the fairly well-known story of how Soviet diplomacy and Comintern activity resulted in a strong Chinese movement against the treaty powers, especially after an alliance between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists was launched in January 1924. Part Two, "The Japanese Initiative," is the most valuable section of the book. Its theme is that from March 1927 (at the time of the split between the Kuomintang and the Communists) to June 1928 (when Chang Tso-lin was assassinated by Japanese soldiers) the most crucial factor in the diplomatic situation was the effort of the Japanese to establish a mutually satisfactory relationship with Chiang Kai-shek. Part Three, "The Chinese Initiative," argues that after the Chang incident Chinese diplomatic measures, such as the issue of a manifesto abrogating all unequal treaties, constituted the dominant strain in Asian affairs. In the face of this Chinese initiative, the Japanese were divided over the question of whether to strive for an independent Manchuria or to make the best of an inevitable union of Manchuria with Nationalist China. But military officers in Manchuria gradually drew the country—often through actions not authorized by Tokyo—toward the use of military might for establishing Manchuria as a separate state.

This book broadens our interest from details and incidents to questions about interactions between basic forces. In attempting a "systematic method of analysis," however, the author seems not to have looked deep enough or far enough. He keeps his eyes mainly on diplomatic and military actions without much exploration of pressures and motives behind these actions, and he looks primarily at East Asian international diplomacy with little attention devoted to how this was linked with the policies and interests of the European powers. And yet the book adds depth to our understanding of the current crisis in the Far East and will surely raise the study of Asian diplomatic history to a more creative level.

University of California, Berkeley

DELMER M. BROWN

MONEY AND MONETARY POLICY IN CHINA, 1845-1895. By *Frank H. H. King*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 19.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 330. \$8.95.)

THIS monograph undertakes to refute or to question some of the customary generalizations about traditional Chinese institutions and their role in the process of change in modern China. Was the traditional domestic monetary system a large factor in China's failure to develop? The answer arrived at here is "No." The first half of this study provides a careful and sophisticated analysis of that system as it existed in theory and practice in the early nineteenth century. This system, which foreigners regarded as a peculiarly Chinese cross section of chaos, the author views simply as a characteristic metallic monetary system in essence like the mone-

tary systems prevalent in medieval and early modern Europe. The second part of the book, "Studies in Monetary History," opens with a chapter on Ch'ing monetary institutions and policy, which analyzes the role of various government organs and in a number of ways illuminates the relationship between the central government and the provincial authorities. There follow discussions of several episodes in Chinese monetary history during the critical period 1845-1895 when China's doors were being opened and change was under way: the inflation of the Hsien-feng period, a risky enterprise that saved the dynasty from defeat by the Taiping rebels, but seriously weakened the old currency system; problems connected with the use of Spanish and Mexican dollars in treaty port trade; a case study of the Haikwan tael, that "imaginary money" devised as a unit of account for payment of customs duties; a treatment of monetary reform and of the establishment of the first modern mints. In an interesting concluding chapter King questions the validity of the institutional approach to the study of change and development and urges the production of monographs on other aspects of the Chinese economy in the hope that the accumulation of such studies may bring us closer to an understanding of why, in China, with institutions not necessarily more unfavorable to development than those of preindustrial Europe, change did not take place.

This very competent and thoughtful study is soundly based on Chinese and Western sources and includes a useful bibliography, a glossary, and an index.

Mount Holyoke College

MERIBETH E. CAMERON

CHINA'S WARTIME FINANCE AND INFLATION, 1937-1945. By *Arthur N. Young*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 20.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 421. \$10.00.)

DR. Young's study complements his earlier *China and the Helping Hand, 1937-1945* (1963), which dealt primarily with the role of foreign aid in wartime China. This volume is somewhat more technical in character than its predecessor and includes in the text and appendixes valuable statistical data, illustrative of the argument in both volumes, which he obtained as financial adviser to the Chinese government. The book's three parts treat in turn receipts, expenditures, and fiscal policy; debt and foreign aid; and currency, monetary management, and inflation. Part Three takes up nearly two-thirds of the volume.

Young is often perceptive in his appraisals of the Kuomintang's wartime financial policies. His summary passages, for example, criticize the decision to refrain from increasing the level of taxation early in the war, the parallel failure to find ways to make the well to do—civil and military officials, speculators, and hoarders—bear an equitable share of the financial burden, and the absence of adequate fiscal control over both military and civilian expenditure of readily available printing press money. The Kuomintang government, he implies, was too weak to execute the necessary restraint and control. He unfortunately gives little space to the domestic political context that apparently made it impossible for the government to act decisively for the reform of gross abuses. On the other hand, this detailed insider's account pays elaborate attention to the problem of preserving the value of Chinese currency in terms of foreign exchange at Shanghai prior to December 1941. In retrospect this policy, with which Young himself was closely

identified, and which symbolically oriented China more to maintaining its foreign alliances than to tidying its own house, was probably a mistaken one.

The author confirms the analysis of other writers that China's wartime inflation "was caused chiefly by monetary excesses"; the scarcity of goods and other nonmonetary causes on the supply side were of secondary importance. Reliance on the printing press and an ever-increasing rate of note turnover, which reflected declining confidence in the currency, had, by 1945, brought the price level to a point 2,500 times higher than 1937. China was on the verge of the runaway hyperinflation of 1947-1949, which contributed materially to the final Kuomintang debacle. While Young's account ends with 1945, what it reveals of government finance is relevant also for the even darker years of 1946-1949. Ineffectual government policies were continued and worked even less well in the postwar period. And the differential effects of the inflation on the Chinese population, already manifest before the end of the war, alienated the critical support that the Kuomintang needed in order to survive in its contest with the Chinese Communists after 1945.

University of Michigan

ALBERT FEUERWERKER

THE COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF CHINA: A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1945-1949. By *Lionel Max Chassin*. Translated from the French by *Timothy Osato* and *Louis Gelas*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 264. \$5.95.)

FIRST published in 1952 under the title of *La conquête de la Chine par Mao Tse-tung*, this small volume remains a convenient play-by-play account of the struggle between the Chinese Communists and the Nationalists from 1945 to 1949, which ended in disaster for the latter despite their supposed initial military superiority, the Soviet Union's nominal neutrality, and extensive assistance from the United States. General Chassin was vice-chief of the French general staff during three of these four years, and he states that he based his study largely on dispatches to the general staff's intelligence bureau and on conversations with officers experienced in Chinese affairs. The general himself never served in China during the Civil War. Probably for security reasons, his account is undocumented except for references to standard published materials identified by the translators. Because Chinese statistics are so traditionally inaccurate, one often wishes to know the sources for Chassin's figures.

Chassin stresses that the Communists followed a "horizontal" strategy to cut the vital north-south Nationalist communication lines by winning control of a strip of territory from Shantung to Shensi. Like others, the general attributes the Communists' victory to their superior morale, discipline, integrity of leadership, and agrarian program which brought them popular acceptance as the only alternative to the divided, corrupt, and increasingly reactionary Kuomintang. Far from blaming the State Department for the "loss" of China, Chassin commends Americans for their warnings to the prestige-minded Chiang Kai-shek to refrain from committing his crack units to northern points which the Nationalists were unable to supply adequately. The Frenchman believes that the Nationalists in 1945 should have first organized their sources of strength in China's southern provinces before rushing to occupy isolated cities in northern China and Manchuria.

Chassin is an able and correctly reticent officer without deep concern for the politics of modern Chinese militarism. He is aware that there were old schisms within both Nationalist and Communist ranks, but the Chinese appear often in the general's text without the background elucidation essential to understand their behavior. Nor does he analyze the debates within the Chinese councils or the ill-fated reorganization of the Nationalist defense machinery after World War II. He asserts too sweepingly that the Chinese peasantry before the Communists had "known only oppression or, at best, governmental neglect. . . ." His book's chief merit lies in its professional yet simple treatment of the complicated battles and campaigns during four crucial years of Chinese history.

University of Texas

WILLIAM R. BRAISTED

PARTY AND ARMY: PROFESSIONALISM AND POLITICAL CONTROL IN THE CHINESE OFFICER CORPS, 1949-1964. By *Ellis Joffe*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 19.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1965. Pp. xii, 198. \$3.25.)

Mr. Joffe has examined, probably as thoroughly as the available sources permit, the relationship between the professionally oriented officers of the Chinese armed forces and the Chinese Communist party (CCP) in the first fifteen years of the People's Republic of China. His thesis is that the post-1949 conversion of the guerrilla army, which brought Mao Tse-tung to power, into a modernized, complex, differentiated military force created an officer corps which, to a considerable extent, was more oriented to the technical requirements of its professional role than to the CCP's insistence that men and politics, rather than weaponry, remain the decisive factors in warfare. This study, by analyzing the CCP leadership's criticisms of the professional military-technical viewpoint, offers a convincing account of how tensions between the party and the officer corps arose in 1953-1954, increased in 1956 and 1957, reached a peak in 1958, and were gradually dissipated after 1959 with the consequence, however, of an almost complete victory for the CCP position. In the Chinese Communist armed forces today, politics are in command, party control is consolidated, and on the surface at least a remarkable harmony has prevailed in party-army relations in recent years. But at the same time a sweeping technological and organizational transformation has been accomplished, and with the development of Chinese independent nuclear power the professionals have probably now been accorded much of what they wanted.

In passing, this volume contains interesting commentary on Sino-Soviet military relations, the problem of the dismissal of P'eng Te-huai, and the effect of the "great leap forward" on the armed forces of China.

University of Michigan

ALBERT FEUERWERKER

THE SHAN STATES AND THE BRITISH ANNEXATION. By *Sao Sai-mong Mangrai*. [Data Paper, Number 57.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University. 1965. Pp. x, 319, lxxxiii. \$4.00.)

FOLLOWING its conquest of Upper Burma in 1885 Britain had to deal with the special problem of the Shan States. These, though part of Burma, lay in the hilly

region to the east bordering on China, Laos, and Siam, and were mostly under the personal rule of their own hereditary chiefs. They had been in turmoil for some time, and many had already broken away from the nominal control of the Burmese monarchy. But, compared with the pacification of Burma proper, extension of control over the Shans was an easy task for Britain.

But there were more difficult problems involved: those of frontier relations with neighboring countries. The frontier between the Shan States and China was undefined, and Britain was extremely anxious to avoid any dispute with China. It was even more anxious to avoid having a common frontier with the French in Indochina. For a time Britain seriously considered making the Salween River the eastern border of Burma, thus leaving some of the Shan States that lay further to the east to be absorbed by China and Siam so that they should serve as a buffer region between Burma and Indochina. But that idea was abandoned by the beginning of 1890, and the Mekong River became the common frontier between Burma and Laos.

Quoting copiously from unpublished material in the India Office archives and from official publications and contemporary writings, Sao Saimong Mangrai tells in detail the story of Britain's dealings with the Shan States and the problems involved in assuming control between 1886 and 1900. As the son of a former sawbwa or chief of one of the Shan States, the author conveys an impression of almost personal involvement. His writing is discursive, some of his comments are naïve, and his book lacks an index, but he has made a worth-while contribution to the study of his country's history.

University of Hong Kong

BRIAN HARRISON

EDUCATION IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN. By R. P. Dore. [Publication of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965. Pp. xi, 346. \$6.00.)

THIS careful and important study of the development of the varied types of education in the last two and a half centuries of feudalism in Japan under the Tokugawa dictatorship (1600-1868) is more than a history of premodern education. It is also an intellectual history and a history of the educational philosophy of the writers of that period. Basing his work on extensive Japanese primary sources, the author has selected and organized his material well; thus his study fills an important gap in our knowledge of Japanese history. For those interested in the role of education in the modernization process, this book serves as an important background and supplementary volume to Herbert Passin's *Society and Education in Japan* (1965).

Following a short survey of society in the Tokugawa period, this study analyzes the divergent aims of education for the warrior class and describes the dominant features of the schools supported by the Tokugawa government and of those in the separate fiefs. The traditional curriculum based on Chinese classics, the training methods used, and the significant differences among the various institutions are dealt with in detail. Numerous quotations make it clear that some contemporary Japanese writers argued that the purpose of education was to train the

ruling warrior class to become better rulers through increased knowledge. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority emphasized that the task of education "was primarily to develop moral character, both as an absolute human duty and also in order the better to fulfill the samurai's function in society." The remainder of the volume is devoted to: the gradual innovations that were adopted in the schools in the nineteenth century largely as a result of growing interest in Japanese, as opposed to Chinese, studies and in Western medicine and science; the rapid increase in the number of special schools established for the commoner, the "popular schools" (*terakoya*) and "writing schools" (*tenarai sho*); and, finally, the legacy that this multivarious education bequeathed to the modern period.

Despite its diversity the results of education in Japan from the early seventeenth century to the Restoration in 1868 were impressive. At the beginning the ruling warrior class was largely illiterate; at the end practically all the warriors were literate and probably 40 per cent of the total male population and 10 per cent of the female population could read and write. This was an important base on which to begin building a modern, militarily powerful industrial state. The extent of the role that this Chinese classics-oriented education played in enabling the leaders of the new Japan to succeed in this modernization is hard to assess. The author's argument, in the final chapter, concerning the special importance in this modernization process of the Confucian type of training seems to be partially weakened by the fact that many of the members of the select group of new leaders in the Restoration were also influenced by "Dutch" or Western studies. This is an excellent work, which provides new information on Japanese society in the Tokugawa period, on the forces that helped mold modern Japan, and on the role of diversified education in premodern societies.

Haverford College

HUGH BORTON

THE STATE AND ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE IN JAPAN: ESSAYS IN THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH. By *M. Bronfenbrenner et al.* Edited by *William W. Lockwood*. [Studies in the Modernization of Japan, Number 2.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 753. \$12.50.)

Most of these fifteen papers were submitted to the Conference on Modern Japan at Estes Park, Colorado, in 1963. Nine are devoted to studies of the prewar industrialization process (Parts I and II), and others discuss post-World War II problems, emphasizing the so-called "second industrial revolution" from 1955 on.

E. S. Crawcour's "The Tokugawa Heritage" empirically explores factors that accumulated in traditional Japan and contributed later to industrialization. K. Ohkawa's and H. Rosovsky's "A Century of Japanese Economic Growth" analyzes a century of rapid development by setting up identifiable and relatively unified phases of growth, mostly in line with Kuznets' minimum requirements for a "stage theory." D. S. Landes in his "Japan and Europe: Contrasts in Industrialization" presents the longest paper, in which he finds differences as well as resemblances between the two areas.

In the earlier industrialization of Japan, entrepreneurship played a large role, and on this problem there are two articles: Y. Horie's "Modern Entrepreneurship

in Meiji Japan" and J. Hirschmeier's "Shibusawa Eiichi: Industrial Pioneer." Hirschmeier, particularly, succeeds in making clear Shibusawa's wide influence in the early development of various industries and the Japanese type of business entrepreneurship that is closely tied up with nationalism and Confucianism.

S. Sawada's "Innovation in Japanese Agriculture, 1880-1935," explores in detail the long-term technological and productivity development of agriculture. J. I. Nakamura's "Growth of Japanese Agriculture, 1875-1920," is the most provocative paper; in it he contradicts Ohkawa's estimates, emphasizing possible undervaluation in early official statistics on agricultural products, particularly rice. H. T. Oshima in his "Meiji Fiscal Policy and Economic Progress" constructs a framework in which the government account is part of the national income account, and he analyzes the productivity and incidence of the Meiji land tax, the relation between military and civil expenditures, the productivity of military expenditure, and the roles of administrative and educational outlays. A. H. Gleason's "Economic Growth and Consumption in Japan" takes up the achievement of the long-term growth—the rise of consumption per capita. The data used, however, are not an independent estimate, but a residual between national income and other expenditures.

Part III opens with an article by W. W. Lockwood, "Japan's 'New Capitalism,'" containing political and economic analyses. M. Bronfenbrenner's "Economic Miracles and Japan's Income-Doubling Plan" and H. T. Patrick's "Cyclical Instability and Fiscal-Monetary Policy in Postwar Japan" explore the problems of growth and cycles in the postwar economy. S. Okita's "Regional Planning in Japan Today" is a good sketch and may be useful for foreign readers. S. B. Levine's "Labor Markets and Collective Bargaining in Japan" explains in an excellent way the features of the Japanese labor market and wage differentials, focusing on the "life-time commitment," the "length of service" systems, and the development of collective bargaining in the big enterprise sector. Lastly, R. A. Scalapino's "Labor and Politics in Postwar Japan" presents a detailed analysis of the history of the Japanese labor movement, which has been greatly influenced by trade-union political activity and has swung between "left extremism" and "political realism." His survey on political attitudes of union leaders is particularly interesting.

It is impossible in this brief space to criticize each of the articles properly. But though some important problems are not dealt with at all, we may say that most of the articles included should be welcomed as important contributions to the elucidation of the process of Japan's modernization and industrialization.

Hitotsubashi University

MIYOHEI SHINOHARA

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN. By *Kurt Steiner*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 564. \$10.00.)

THIS book of many parts is not a companion but an unerring guide; it cannot be read in "one sitting," but rather it must be studied; it does not merely contribute intelligence to a single subject, but reveals the larger purpose of reorganizing an entire field. Indeed, Steiner has written a most unusual book on Japanese politics, for he has delivered far more than his modest title promises. That alone would qualify it as a scholarly event of considerable magnitude, but there is more.

Even though it is his declared intention to provide an "introduction" to the workings of local autonomy in Japan, especially during the post-World War II period, Steiner never loses sight of the larger problem silently informing his efforts: the arrangement and operation of political power in Japan as a total process. To reach his goal he analyzes the structure, function, and dynamics of the political machinery at the local level, not as an isolated or random phenomenon trimmed to meet the requirements of some specialized interest, but rather as an integral and integrated element in a much larger system. The points of intersection between "local" and "national" politics in Japan are so numerous and well known to Steiner that it is virtually impossible for him to deal intelligibly with one level without constant reference to the other.

Any attempt to survey Steiner's achievement will necessarily do him a disservice because it will make his book appear as a massive inventory. Coverage is merely his way of getting at two complex questions of fundamental importance about the purpose of politics in Japan: "How much local autonomy actually exists in Japan today?" and "What is the relationship between local autonomy and democracy?" The first section of the book is historical and seeks to locate the character of local autonomy in the years before World War II; in the second part Steiner uses a constitutional analysis of the kind that stresses the tension between legal expectations and the actualities of achievement; the third portion of the book, owing to its concern with "local entities," their structure and purpose, and the vast machinery of financial relations between governmental levels, employs a descriptive legal-institutional framework; and the final chapters, dealing with the dynamics of neighborhood associations and citizen participation, fall into a sociological-behavioral slot.

Steiner's conclusions consistently return to the general questions he set out to examine. World War II destroyed, through the expedience of centralization, the system of local autonomy inaugurated by the Meiji reformers. Caught between the constitutional ideal of local autonomy and the dour promises of reality, occupation authorities launched their political reforms with a built-in ambiguity. Institutional reforms remained woefully incomplete, especially in the area of functions and finances. Moreover, traditional attitudes, the persistent power of outlawed associations, and the widespread disregard for the new legal process in solving intergovernmental problems all conspired to inhibit local entities from realizing whatever roles and hopes were intended by the reforms. In view of the "muddle of functions" and the dynamic reassertion of "recessive" attitudes and behavior, Steiner argues that local autonomy in Japan did not fail because it was never fully established.

These were crucial developments because they did interact with the operation of national politics, and the failure or success of local autonomy would necessarily affect the ultimate achievement of democracy in Japan. It might be that Steiner hopes for too much too soon, but he knows that local entities in Japan or elsewhere must serve, not as instruments of central control, but as insulation between individual and state. He also knows that local autonomy must always make decisive accommodations to political reality if it is to continue providing its democratizing service. This allows Steiner to expose local autonomy in Japan for all its weaknesses, yet not abandon it despairingly to the paradox of ideality and

reality. If it is unfashionable today to describe a book as definitive, then it can be said that Steiner has written a book for many seasons.

University of Rochester

H. D. HAROOTUNIAN

THE POLITICS OF KOREAN NATIONALISM. By *Chong-Sik Lee*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 342. \$6.50.)

ONE pattern of Korean history is that of repeated foreign invasions followed by alien domination. The Japanese rule of Korea (1910-1945) is a case in point. Korean nationalists responded to this rule by organizing and maintaining an independence movement that receives its first scholarly treatment in this work. Though its title sounds ahistorical, one may be assured that the monograph is a sound historical work. It is divided into five chronological parts: the legacy of Yi Korea impinging upon the independence movement; the fall of the Yi dynasty, 1876-1910; the March First movement of 1919, 1910-1919; the independence movement by the exiled abroad, 1919-1945; and the same movement in Korea, 1919-1945. Probably the most original portions of the work are Parts IV and V. Here we find that factionalism always plagued the movement. Lee attributes factionalism to provincialism, personal ties, the difference of opinion concerning the strategy to be pursued, lack of funds, and the appearance of the Korean Communists. Since 1931 the acute financial problem was solved by Chinese support, but this was more than offset by the growing bipolarization of the nationalists into Right Wing and Left Wing. The outcome was a further intensification of factional struggles.

In addition to narrating the independence movement, Lee has attempted to show the broadening process of Korean nationalism from the elite to the masses. According to the author, up to 1910, was still in the category of "traditional nationalism," and at the same time there were evidences of "modern nationalism." "Positive nationalism," an undefined term, can be traced back to late seventeenth-century scholars, but took firm hold after the March First movement. Social science has not as yet developed a more satisfactory scheme than qualitative description for analyzing such intriguing subjects as national character and nationalism, and Lee's book reflects something of this in its second aim.

The independence movement is one that no Korean can study without emotion. As the author shows, however, it was not as glorious as Koreans tend to think it was; nor was Japanese rule entirely negative. Perhaps with these realities in mind Lee offers to his fellow Koreans an apologia for being impartial in his account. To the general reader, on the other hand, he says he is not free from bias. But he has achieved a high degree of objectivity, and that is the beauty of his work. It is a truly significant contribution to the sparse literature on modern Korean history.

University of Florida

RICHARD T. CHANG

THE MUTINY OUTBREAK AT MEERUT IN 1857. By *J. A. B. Palmer*. [Cambridge South Asian Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 175. \$7.50.)

THE author seeks to provide a definitive narrative of the rising at Meerut on the evening of May 10, 1857, and the morning after at Delhi. Within these modest

limits, it is very successful, a real, if small, addition to the literature on the Indian Mutiny—which threatens to rival in bulk that on the French Revolution or the American Civil War. Some unpublished information from Sir John Kaye's papers is used as well as the unpublished diary of William Waterfield, but for the most part the sources are printed. Does one imagine that the style sometimes owes more to hobson-jobson than the *Oxford English Dictionary*?

Mr. Palmer fills in much precise fact about the outbreak at Meerut, but our theoretical knowledge of the Mutiny is not changed. He is certain that the rising at Meerut was premeditated, but we are still puzzled about the actual plotters and whether or not it was part of some larger conspiracy. In other words, the author comes to an orthodox conclusion, that the revolt of 1857 at Meerut was a combined manifestation of various grievances including those of dispossessed landlords, disbanded native troops, and overassessed peasants, united by a fear that their religion was threatened by greased cartridges.

There are fascinating sketches of Major General William Henry Hewitt, commander of the Meerut Division; Brigadier Archdale Wilson, the station commander; and Lieutenant Colonel George Monro Carmichael-Smyth, who gave the order that was the occasion to refuse cartridges and led to court-martial and mutiny. Wilson, who later wound up with honors and an article in the *DNB*, appears as the least attractive figure in the story. As a sort of bonus, one is afforded an incidental glimpse of mid-Victorian "European" social life in a north Indian cantonment town. We learn of the importance of family connection in the Indian services, the regularity of churchgoing habits, muzzy officers being shaved in bed before arising, and the taste of the soldiers for bottled "pop."

On balance, this little volume is a good thing. No large library or smaller library specializing in a related field should fail to acquire it.

California State College, Dominguez Hills

MARK NAIDIS

RENAISSANCE, NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN MODERN INDIA. By *Kalikinkar Datta*. (Calcutta: Bookland Private. 1965. Pp. vi, 144, vi. Rs. 12.)

ANYONE who is at all familiar with the often told story of the Indian nationalist movement will find little, if anything, new in this very brief account by a senior Indian historian. It presents a clear narrative, with little commentary, of the national struggle from the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 to independence in 1947. There is an old-fashioned flavor about it, which is both charming and frustrating.

Even though most recent studies of Indian nationalism trace the roots of the nationalist movement well before 1885, Professor Datta gives only passing attention to this longer background. He makes only a few brief references to Raja Rammohun Roy, often referred to as "the Father of Indian Nationalism," and he fails to consider the impact of the "Mutiny" of 1857 on the emergence of a national consciousness.

The central theme of this slim volume is that "the political development of modern India has been an aspect of a general renaissance pervading different

spheres of life." This is a good point, but hardly an original one. A. R. Desai, for example, made it nearly twenty years ago in his *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (1948), and Charles H. Heimsath has recently published a sophisticated study of *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (1964).

The final chapter, which is much longer than any of the others, is entitled "Changes in the Structure of Indian Society." This is a reprint of an article that was originally published in the *Journal of World History* in 1960. It has some interesting comments on the improved status of women, child marriage, caste and untouchability, and the Indian labor movement, but it has little relation to the rest of the chapters, and it provides a strange conclusion for a descriptive account of the national movement. A concluding chapter on the nature and significance of the movement and its contribution to independent India and to modern nationalism would have been more appropriate and more useful.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

QUIET DECISION: A STUDY OF GEORGE FOSTER PEARCE. By *Peter Heydon*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. xviii, 271. \$12.50.)

IN his introduction to this book Sir Robert Menzies mentions the possibility of eventually writing his own memoirs. It is to be hoped that the recently retired Prime Minister soon will employ his sense of history and his mastery of English to provide Australians with a new, higher standard of political autobiography. Too frequently in the past such works have followed the safely inoffensive pattern illustrated by Sir George Pearce's superficial, anecdotal *Carpenter to Cabinet* (1951).

The general quality of Australian political biography, on the other hand, has been fairly high in recent years, although the quantity of such studies is still limited. This knowledgeable, well-researched assessment of the career of a man who represented Western Australia in the Senate for the first thirty-seven years of the Commonwealth, and served in both Labor (until the split of 1916) and anti-Labor cabinets for twenty-four of those years, is a welcome and superior addition to the collection. Peter Heydon served as Pearce's private secretary in 1936-1937. His subsequent career in the public service has included ambassadorial posts and the top civil service office in the Department of Immigration. He is, therefore, at his best in his discussion of Pearce's achievements in the cabinet and as political head of a department, fields where Pearce excelled. His discussion of Pearce's relations with colleagues and chiefs, particularly with W. M. Hughes and S. M. Bruce, and his briefer references to his later service on the States' Grants Commission and on the Defence Board of Business Administration are also commendable.

In the other themes explored—Pearce's pride in and affection for the Senate as a legislative body; his strong early nationalism which placed "the Empire very much second," but which later mellowed into an advocacy of imperial solidarity in *Carpenter to Cabinet*; the process by which a labor leader becomes a conservative; and his alienation from Western Australian popular opinion—the author reveals less sympathetic insight. Although he attempts to treat these complex

problems, they represent intellectual pilgrimages on which adequate data apparently were not available.

University of California, Los Angeles

K. A. MacKIRDY

AUSTRALIAN POLICIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD CHINA. By *Henry S. Albinski*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 511. \$12.50.)

PROFESSOR Albinski realizes his three purposes in writing this well-documented book, which also has an extensive bibliography. He points out "the nature and strength of Australia's interpretation of China as a power in her own right and as an influence on the course of Asian developments of special concern to Australia"; traces and appraises Australia's China policy and attitudes, paying some attention to policies toward Nationalist as well as mainland China and to the limits set on Australian policy by the need to maintain friendly relations with the United States; and finally shows the "imprint left by the Chinese problem on politics, and the manner in which politics have affected the tone of debate and policy direction on China."

The author starts with an appraisal of the China problem as it presented itself to the Labor government which lost office after the elections of December 10, 1949. He then analyzes the effect of the Korean War on Australian policies and attitudes. Australian security problems, as affected by fear of China and aversion to Communism, are appraised in the two chapters dealing with developments in Southeast Asia after 1954. Here the author deals with the Indonesian take-over of West Irian and the attempt to destroy Malaysia. Albinski then turns to trade, showing the extent of direct and indirect government involvement in the development of trade relations with mainland China. Australia's passport policy and the growing movement of Australians to China for trade promotion are then discussed. Finally, after an appraisal of Australia's diplomatic policy toward China, from the viewpoint of its flexibility, of the "American factor," and of Chinese diplomatic policy and domestic politics, the volume concludes with consideration of the relevance to Australia of the China problem. In this setting of balancing and weighing alternative positions, Australia has not escaped the inevitable internal debate about what should be done, and how, in particular circumstances. The area of agreement, however, has always been "that there is a China problem, that it intimately affects Australia, and that it needs to be reckoned with seriously."

Cincinnati, Ohio

HAROLD M. VINACKE

WILLIAM PEMBER REEVES: NEW ZEALAND FABIAN. By *Keith Sinclair*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 356. \$6.75.)

WILLIAM Pember Reeves left his mark on New Zealand, on England, and to some extent on Greece. He was a leader in the struggle against the power of the great landowners. As Minister of Education and also of Labour in the first Liberal-Labour cabinets (1891-1896), he was the intellectual leader of the more advanced socialist wing of the party. The land legislation aimed at breaking the great estates was primarily the work of men who believed in small-scale freehold farm-

ing. Reeves's share in it was not great. His code of labor legislation was fought bitterly over several years, but finally the arbitration system, by which he is best known, went easily, almost derisively, through a skeptical Parliament.

In New Zealand itself he was a controversial figure, literate, and indeed a minor poet, but alienated from the dominant landowning, banking, and commercial class from which he had emerged. In 1896 he went to London as agent-general (later High Commissioner) and lived in England until his death. For many years he cherished the hope of returning to New Zealand politics, but the opportunity never came. He flirted with the notion of entering British politics as a Liberal-Imperialist, but lacked the income necessary to do so.

His life in London was at first closely associated with the Fabians and especially with Sidney and Beatrice Webb, but among his many contradictory emotions was a puritanical attitude to sex, and he was outraged by the notoriety of H. G. Wells's affair with his brilliant and beautiful daughter. Sidney Webb persuaded him to resign the High Commissioner's office to become the third director of the London School of Economics. Though he was a careful administrator, he did not escape the conflicts that beset the school for years, and the time came when Webb had to tell him that he must resign.

During his stay at LSE he was also chairman of the National Bank of New Zealand and, despite his radical views, a conservative and successful financier. In his frustrations he turned to writing an account of the Liberal-Labour experiments. It was largely through his voice and pen that New Zealand gained the reputation of being the most experimental country in the world. A brilliant and readable account of its history published as *The Long White Cloud* supplemented the more technical studies and still is a classic. His last years were largely devoted to advocating the Venizelist claims to Greek expansion, but these too collapsed. The death of his only son in the war was the last heavy blow from which he never really recovered.

Keith Sinclair was the right person to write his life and weave it skillfully into the political history of New Zealand. At the same time he has caught with sympathy and insight the aspirations and frustrations of a too sensitive and finally embittered personality, torn between two worlds—indeed many worlds. Reeves was an expatriate. He was fascinated both with literature and politics and thought of himself as a bold revolutionary while retaining almost primitive taboos. It is a considerable feat to produce a work of scholarship, fully documented, and at the same time a fascinating study of such a troubled personality. Sinclair is to be congratulated on a book that highly illuminates the events he describes and the actors who shaped them.

Stanford Research Institute

J. B. CONDLIFFE

Americas

KEEPERS OF THE PAST. Edited by *Clifford L. Lord*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. 241. \$6.00.)

SIXTEEN contributors have created an interesting anthology. Their eighteen chapters on keepers of the American past concern five who worked with historical

societies (Jeremy Belknap, John Pintard, Lyman C. Draper, Reuben G. Thwaites, and Dixon Ryan Fox), three with public archives (John Franklin Jameson, Thomas McA. Owen, and Robert D. W. Connor), three with historical museums (George Brown Goode, Edgar Lee Hewett, and George Francis Dow), two with special collections (Henry E. Huntington and Bella C. Landauer), and five with historic sites (Ann Pamela Cunningham, Adina De Zavala, William Sumner Appleton, Stephen Hyatt Pelham Pell, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.).

The volume, happy in conception, is equally attractive in achievement. The rich scholarship of the authors is modestly suggested by brief, discreetly placed footnotes. The form of the book, with an introduction but no index, is unpretentious, graceful, and attractive. It might be suggested reading for graduate students, trustees of historical societies, amateur collectors, librarians, curators, and archivists as an inspiration, and for a wider audience as a source of armchair pleasure.

Ohio University

HARRY R. STEVENS

CATHOLICS IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *John Tracy Ellis*. [Benedictine Studies, Number 8.] (Baltimore: Helicon. 1965. Pp. 486. \$10.00.)

THIS is an inclusive survey of Roman Catholic missions within the present boundaries of the continental United States down through the colonial period. The preface intimates that the author himself has had some doubts as to whether such a book was really needed, but he has justified it in his own mind by noting that there has been no scholarly treatment of the subject for more than two generations. There is indeed a real problem with a topic of this kind. The book assumes as the territorial definition of its scope the national boundaries of the US as finally established in the mid-nineteenth century, but the chronological definition of its scope is restricted to an earlier period when different territorial arrangements prevailed. In other words, the structure of the book does not conform to the essential coherence of the material with which it deals. This would be of minor consequence if it meant no more than that the book breaks down into three discrete sections, devoted respectively to the Spanish, the French, and the English missions. The more serious problem is that in the first two of these sections, at least, the book deals with the scattered representatives of missionary enterprises whose bases of operations lay outside the defined scope of the work.

The story of these dispersed missionaries needs to be related to the story of the organism of which they were remote representatives if it is to have a focus that takes it out of the category of antiquarianism. One suspects, therefore, that this volume will be consulted for particular chapters by scholars at work on related topics, rather than read through from cover to cover in its own terms.

Harvard Divinity School

CONRAD WRIGHT

THE CROSS IN THE SAND: THE EARLY CATHOLIC CHURCH IN FLORIDA, 1513-1870. By *Michael V. Gannon*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 210. \$5.00.)

STUDENTS of American religious history who are acquainted with Father Gannon's

Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot (1964) will have reason to expect both an attractive style and a high standard of professional competence in his new book, and they will not be disappointed. In handsome dress and adorned by twenty pages of illustrations, this solid narrative recounts the Spaniards' heartbreaking disappointments and hardships experienced for well over a century after their initial effort of 1513 to settle Florida and to plant the Catholic faith among its Indian tribes. But succeed they finally did, and with the exception of twenty years (1763–1783) the peninsula remained under Spanish rule until July 1821, when the American commissioner arrived to assume authority.

At this point two-thirds of the story has been told, but the author extends it through two more chapters and an epilogue to the establishment of the diocese of Saint Augustine by the Holy See in March 1870 with a few sentences on each of the bishops who followed Augustin Verot. The story has been told before, but the author has uncovered new evidence from hitherto unpublished sources, which enables him to speak with certainty where others have dealt in generalities, and to speak with richer detail on already familiar movements and situations. Previous historians had spoken only vaguely of the ordinations performed in August 1674 at Saint Augustine by Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, bishop of Santiago de Cuba. Now we are told specifically that those ordained on August 24 of that year were "seven young priests, sons of the best families in St. Augustine—the first positively authenticated instance of ordinations to the priesthood to take place within what is now the United States." This precedes by 119 years the ordination of Stephen T. Badin by Bishop John Carroll on May 25, 1793, hitherto thought to be the first of its kind. A clearer picture also emerges of the operations of the *patronato real* and its offspring, the so-called church wardens.

A few criticisms may be entered on several minor points. For example, while serious readers will appreciate the essay on sources, it should not replace footnotes, a feature that is missed more than once. The book is, however, virtually free of typographical errors and inconsistencies. The diocese of Saint Augustine may well be proud of this volume commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the first Catholic parish on the soil of the future United States. The history of Catholicism in this country would be far the richer if every diocese, every religious congregation and order, and every institution of whatever kind could boast a comparable work to mark a significant milestone in its life.

University of San Francisco

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

A COLONY ON THE MOVE: GASPAR CASTAÑO DE SOSA'S JOURNAL, 1590–1591. By *Albert H. Schroeder* and *Dan S. Matson*. ([Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School of American Research.] 1965. Pp. xi, 196. \$6.50 postpaid.)

BETWEEN the explorations of Espejo in 1582–1583 and Oñate's *entrada* of 1598, the 170-man force led into New Mexico by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa produced the most historically significant activity in that region. Castaño, lieutenant governor and captain general of Nuevo León, began his northward trek late in July 1590, without the requisite royal approval. Eight months later, after an astounding demonstration of energy, courage, and curiosity, Castaño's arrest in mid-March 1591 dis-

solved the expedition that had known but meager prospect of becoming a new settlement. The only known eyewitness account of this expedition, presumably from the pen of Andrés Pérez de Verlanga, appears in the present work, translated and edited.

D. S. Matson's sensitive and precise translation affords us the first complete English version of a document that heretofore has been available in complete text only in Spanish. Editor A. H. Schroeder's efforts to establish the itinerary, identify pueblos, and so forth show him to be abreast of southwestern bibliography.

The introduction establishes perspective for the reader in fine fashion, as do the numerous maps in reference to the text. For two unnecessary reasons Schroeder's notes tend to overwhelm the document: they often repeat its content; and, being in larger type face, they tend to dominate rather than support the document. The editor's speculations, coming thick and fast at times, are those of a disciplined researcher. For almost 25 per cent of the expedition's personnel, an appendix increases our awareness of individuals.

The School of American Research has again affirmed the indissoluble alliance of geography, ethnology, archaeology, and history in the study of the American Southwest.

Southern Illinois University

C. HARVEY GARDINER

NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER: PURITANS AND INDIANS, 1620-1675. By Alden T. Vaughan. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. xvii, 430. \$7.50.)

HISTORY is revision no less than narration and exposition. This refreshing new look at Puritan-Indian relations will cause many historians to revise their thinking on the early settlement of New England. Vaughan's lucid and literate study debunks former popular conceptions that the pious Pilgrims fell first on their knees and then on the natives or pilfered their hunting grounds for a handful of worthless trinkets. In reality, practically from the day the Pilgrims landed and began exploring the countryside, they sought out the Indians in a spirit of peace. Their first parley with Massasoit resulted in a pact that even today remains a model of its kind. Each side agreed to refrain from harming the other and promised mutual assistance if attacked. Both parties in the main lived up to this and to successive treaties.

The author details how the early Pilgrims (he does not differentiate between Pilgrim and Puritan) with no previous experience depended on improvisation, innovation, and versatility to establish their successful policy of peace through strength tempered by justice. This favorable precedent was later followed by the Massachusetts Bay colonists. Believing that the Indian was a potential convert and not an implacable enemy, the Puritans extended to him the benefits of religion and education. In most instances Indians voluntarily placed themselves under the white man's laws expecting and receiving justice. Puritans who sinned against Indians were equally punished, and Indians occasionally served as jurors. However, because of the very nature of the widely divergent patterns of living—political, economic, religious, and social—it was inevitable that friction developed

between the two cultures. One was unified, visionary, disciplined, and dynamic while the other was divided, self-satisfied, undisciplined, and static.

Motivations and events leading to the clash of these two interdependent ethnic groups are perceptively delineated. Except for isolated instances the author does not single out particular episodes or personalities for special dramatization. Rather, the collective achievements of several generations of New Englanders are in themselves sufficiently emphatic to record the unique period of Puritan-Indian relationships and the evolution of a "Yankee" identity.

Basing his work on wide-ranging research, yet never pedantic, Vaughan describes how the civilized Gospel-centered (but not bigoted) Puritan society inexorably expanded and finally controlled the Neolithic world of the Indians. The narration moves like the advancing frontier it describes, marshaling widely separate facts into a documented story that seldom loses impetus. The author dispels many misconceptions, legends, and half-truths expounded by Palfrey over a hundred years ago and adopted by others. He recognizes that one must judge the actions of the Puritans toward a minority race in the context of their world, not ours. He also concedes that histories are written by the victors and that the colonization accounts are from the white man's point of view. Well written, illustrated, indexed, and with appendixes, notes, and bibliography, Professor Vaughan's objective study now takes its place as the standard authority on Puritan-Indian relations from the landing of the *Mayflower* through King Philip's War.

Army and Air Force Exchange Service

WILLIAM C. KIESSEL

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SLAVERY: STUDIES IN THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF THE SLAVE SOUTH. By *Eugene D. Genovese*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1965. Pp. xiv, 304. \$6.95.)

FIFTEEN or twenty years ago it was not unusual for men like W. J. Cash or Rollin Osterweis to write books that assumed that the civilization of the ante bellum South was different in kind from that of the North. Since then, however, the scholarly tendency has been to view the South as different only in degree. This book seeks, through the economy, to bring us back to the earlier view. As is indicated by the title of this collection of essays, more than half of which have appeared in print before, the study is an examination of much more than simply the economics of slavery. The essential point is that the South's dependence upon slavery kept it a "pre-modern" society—that is, precapitalistic, with all the social and political differences from the North that the phrase implies. This is, of course, a quite consistent and sophisticated, if unnamed, Marxian approach, which sees a necessary connection between the forms of labor and production on the one hand and the social structure and culture on the other. Although the logic of his position requires him to dispute most of the studies of slavery and southern society written in the last thirty years, Mr. Genovese does not shrink from the obligation. He critically re-examines Craven on soil exhaustion, Ramsdell on the natural limits of slavery expansion, Conrad and Meyer on the profitability of slavery, Russel on the economic effects of slavery, Owsley on southern social structure, and Stampf on the capitalistic character of plantation operation.

The remarkable thing is the success with which he exposes the hidden assump-

tions and the flaws in the logic or the evidence of these earlier studies. His strictures are always modestly stated, and his knowledge of the sources and the secondary literature on southern slave society is impressive. His book, in short, is one that every student of the ante bellum South will have to grapple with. And when he has, he will have a difficult time believing that the South was just another West that happened to use slave labor and grow cotton. Not everything that we know about ante bellum society, of course, fits into Genovese's analysis, though one would not discover that from this single-minded book. Yet, aside from a tendency to exaggerate the universality of his own findings while narrowing the applicability of others', the author makes a strong case. He emphasizes, for example, the lack of a wide market for industrial production because of the large number of slaves, the poor quality of livestock, and the ineffectiveness of the agricultural reform movement. He also comes close to saying that slavery as a coercive system overpopulated the South. But if that were true—as I suspect it was—then slavery was not the direct, but only the indirect cause of the South's inability to advance economically and socially.

A conclusion that the South was overpopulated by slavery, moreover, would also call into question one of the book's cardinal assumptions, which is also, for still other reasons, its weakest element. This assumption is that the South was not only politically, economically, and socially dominated by the planter class, but that the planters as a group were conscious of their class interests and acted to realize them. Hence they are alleged deliberately to have kept the South backward through their economic and political power and to have resisted successfully the class hostility of nonslaveholders. This assertion of class consciousness in the ante bellum South is difficult to accept in light of present knowledge, and Genovese, other than by assertion or inference, does little to inform us to the contrary. That lower-class whites, for example, might voluntarily support slavery because it effectively controlled a feared black man is an idea that does not enter Genovese's social analysis.

But one does not have to accept Genovese's assumption of class consciousness in the South or the Marxian philosophy from which he starts to profit from his cogent and well-supported argument for seeing ante bellum southern society as enduringly underdeveloped and therefore fundamentally different from that of the North.

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

WRITING SOUTHERN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN HONOR OF FLETCHER M. GREEN. Edited by *Arthur S. Link* and *Rembert W. Patrick*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 502. \$12.00.)

FEW *Festschriften* enjoy the usefulness and importance that this one will undoubtedly achieve. In honoring their teacher, the former students of Fletcher Green have also performed a valuable service for the profession. They have written seventeen original essays surveying the published literature of southern history; each of the chapters begins with the earliest writings for the period and comes down to those of the 1960's. (Since the chapters were written at various

times, some of the authors bring their surveys through 1961 only; most, however, carry their discussions through 1963.)

The value of the volume resides in several things. For one, it is amazingly comprehensive, covering not only the principal books and articles, but important unpublished doctoral dissertations and masters' essays as well. I noted the omission of only two clearly important works: Kenneth S. Lynn's *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* and Eugene Lerner's several articles in the *Journal of Political Economy* and *Agricultural History* on the Confederate economy; on the other hand, I learned about many with which I was not familiar. Thanks to the careful editors, there is remarkably little repetition of titles that are discussed, despite the unavoidable overlapping of some periods and topics. The book is, moreover, furnished with a full index, which lists every work that is mentioned or cited.

Each author's handling of his mass of literature has clearly been left to him. Some approach their task topically, others within a framework of trends in general American historiography. Charles Sellers, for example, so arranges his treatment of the literature on the Revolution that he can argue that there was no self-conscious South during the eighteenth century, while Ernest Lander, Jr., in discussing the critical period, reaches the opposite conclusion; Malcolm McMillan's survey of the early nineteenth century follows the traditional view that 1820 saw the beginning of the South. Some writers are very critical of the literature they survey, while others are largely content to summarize briefly the works they treat. Paul Gaston, in discussing the late nineteenth century, is the only one who, by tracing the idea of the New South in the periodical literature of the time, goes beyond an appraisal of the secondary sources. Several of the chapters specifically point out opportunities for further research in their periods. The volume appropriately concludes with a bibliography of the numerous published writings of Green.

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

PHILANTHROPY IN THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION. By *Roderick Nash* and *Merle Curti*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 340. \$8.50.)

THE financial history of higher education in the United States began with the decision of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to charter and support the institution that became Harvard College. The future financial history of higher education in the United States unquestionably will be a story of increasingly massive action and support by state and federal governments. In the intervening centuries, however, philanthropy has played a major role in the life of the American college and university: this role is the subject undertaken here.

Private benefaction began in the colonial colleges and aided the expansion of colleges in the nineteenth century, particularly institutions that chose to serve some new purpose, such as technology, or some new clientele, such as women and Negroes. The university idea, in search of financial support, found a band of mighty millionaires in the late nineteenth century, and the giant philanthropic foundations, alumni, and business corporations have come to the support of higher education.

Professors Curti and Nash are perhaps at their best when they see the university movement as a happy union between an old idea in search of support and new money in search of justification. Henceforth every general history of American higher education will be indebted to their convincing insistence that private wealth has made a significant contribution to the history of higher education: conceivably, someday this obvious fact may seem like news.

Not everyone will find his favorite philanthropist or institution included or perhaps adequately considered in this sweeping survey of the men and women who have provided many of the creative dollars in American higher education, although the catalogue of benefactions and institutions covered is large. Something in the tone of the book is not right, however; something about its methodology is self-defeating.

This is myopic history, which, in looking too closely at a selected aspect of the financial history of higher education, distorts what it sees. As the authors occasionally point out, higher education in the United States has also been supported by state grants and state-authorized lotteries, and by tuition fees, but they are altogether silent on the meaning of faculty exploitation and of favorable tax treatment for the support of higher education. A history of philanthropy ignores these things, however, at the expense of credibility and reliability, particularly since one consequence of such a method is to attach an aura of magic to philanthropy in the history of higher education.

A book that proposes to say very much about philanthropy in the shaping of American higher education cannot really succeed unless it soberly and deeply considers other creative forces that have shaped the American experience with education. State universities and land-grant institutions fall outside the purview of this volume; students, professors, and presidents are largely in the wings, waiting to be called into action by some stroke of philanthropic generosity. The questions one brings to such a study remain unanswered at the end: Did philanthropy play a role in giving a conservative direction to higher education? What has been the role of philanthropy in defining the needs and directions of higher education? Were philanthropists more important than the college and university presidents who bent their ears or the professors who gave their lives instead of their money to higher education? If so, in what ways? What were the social and economic conditions that supported philanthropy? What were the philosophical and practical considerations that encouraged it? When were benefactors being innovative; when merely supportive; and when significantly stimulating? There is an occasional thrust in the direction of some of these questions, but is it possible that the book suffers from a common error of intellectual history: does it attempt a history where there cannot really be one?

Williams College

FREDERICK RUDOLPH

THE BIG BOARD: A HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK STOCK MARKET.

By *Robert Sobel*. Foreword by *Broadus Mitchell*. (New York: Fress Press 1965. Pp. xiii, 395. \$7.95.)

"As far as I know this is the first history of the New York Stock Market to be attempted," says the author. All the others have been specialized or period studies.

Such a study is overdue, Broadus Mitchell implies in the foreword, since "no political, diplomatic or cultural organization of peoples . . . is as sensitive to human threats or promises as the money market." To grasp what affects the stock market and what it in turn reflects, its historian should be well informed on many subjects. Dr. Sobel does amazingly well when describing Wall Street reactions and events, but he makes some startling slips when discussing other financial institutions.

The book consists of sixteen chapters accompanied by many brief but helpful tables, a six-page bibliography, and a good index. The opening chapter sets the tone by describing Holland's tulip speculation and the South Sea and Mississippi Bubbles as European background. The next four chapters, through the Civil War, tell of the rise of the New York Stock Exchange, its rivalry with the Philadelphia one, the importance of European, especially British, capital before 1837, the significance of railroad investments, and financing the Civil War. Sobel also provides vignettes of some speculators. Glamour securities shifted from banks to turnpikes to canals to textiles to railroads. Financing greater railroad expansion, robber baron exploits, the rise of investment banking, and the major panics are particularly important. Again he introduces a variety of colorful if not always admirable persons. With J. P. Morgan's death in 1913 another era ended. Three lengthy chapters describe the genealogy, triumph, and death of the "Great Bull," and the final three chapters discuss the depression and accompanying New Deal reforms, most notably the SEC, the late boom of 1947-1960, and the more institutionalized market of today. The book closes with the market break of May 1962.

A definitive history of the New York stock market remains to be written, but until it is this book will go far toward filling the need. Sobel writes like a financial journalist, and he enjoys a dramatic story even at the risk of self-contradiction. Although he quotes from many worthy authorities, he also draws rather indiscriminately on college texts and journalistic writings. There are also omissions in his sources and some errors in his presentation. Yet the book has great appeal.

University of Illinois

DONALD L. KEMMERER

POOR RICHARD'S POLITICKS: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND HIS NEW AMERICAN ORDER. By *Paul W. Conner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 285. \$6.50.)

Dr. Conner's pleasure in writing about Benjamin Franklin appears on every page of his book, and the feeling is catching. Although this is a specialist's monograph, derived from a dissertation, the author takes the kind of broad views which are usually reserved for a general writer. In the literature about Franklin as a thinker, Conner humorously states at the outset, scholars have either broken Franklin's ideas into so many fragments as to lose the pattern, or they have placed them on a biographical line so long that the truer relationships among them fail to come into unified view.

Establishing the logical and ethical design became a task in two ways sympathetic to Conner: he began and ended liking Franklin for his orderliness, his sense, and his imagination; and, himself a political theorist, he enjoyed giving

Franklin his own very methodical treatment. In order to put the pieces together, the author was obliged to consider the economist in Franklin together with the political scientist, the Newtonian with the man of affairs, the absorber (via James Logan) of Greek and Roman ideas with the reviser of the classical curriculum in Philadelphia academy and college. All this, and much else, is assembled, and the Franklin who emerges as political thinker is more completely a nationalist as to economic, political, and cultural development, and is more benevolent—even prophetic and visionary—than previous estimations have shown.

History-minded readers may reasonably cavil at Conner's way of disregarding the time factor. Franklin's thought and expression over half a century, from the 1730's to the 1780's, are analyzed, a little repetitively, backward and forward. Had the author cared more for tracing the development of a mind in the course of changing times, he might well have been more forceful than he is about some of his interpretations. To illustrate, Franklin's reading ancient classics in the James Logan library occurred early in his life; Conner's account of influences and analogies between classical thought and Franklin's thought comes near the end of the book. A different arrangement might possibly have made the Logan library experience seem more influential than the present argument suggests.

This essay is illuminating. It probably tells more than any other study we have had in eighteenth-century American intellectual history since Perry Miller's *Jonathan Edwards*.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

GEORGE WASHINGTON: THE FORGE OF EXPERIENCE (1732-1775).

By *James Thomas Flexner*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. x, 390. \$7.95.)

Mr. Flexner's is the first volume of an intended trilogy. The subject has already been extensively covered by another Washington scholar, Bernhard Knollenberg, as recently as 1964. Do we need another treatment, and at such length? On the matter of length, Flexner is probably right to claim that it is impossible to produce an adequate narrative biography of Washington within the covers of one volume. On other grounds he manages to make his enterprise seem worth while. In the nature of the subject there is little opportunity to disclose startling new facts or theories. The problem becomes one of selection and emphasis. Knollenberg's researches on Washington have been ingenious and welcome astringent. But he has confined himself to particular themes and episodes. Flexner's forte is narration. One who, like myself, has traversed the same route, though in pursuit of somewhat different evidence, can testify to his thoroughness and his sense of what is significant. He is a fluent writer, capable of vivid touches, and yet precise and economical.

Perhaps inevitably the dearth of reliable material on Washington's early life leads Flexner into the biographer's bane—a sprinkling of "might haves" and "must haves." But once he is on firmer ground he has a sure touch. His previous writings on American art enable him to comment shrewdly on the architecture of Mount Vernon and on the portraits of Washington, Martha Custis, and Sally Fair-

fax (though one may disagree with his opinion that John Wollaston's wooden rendering of Martha reveals her as "an extremely pretty woman"). Flexner is sound on Washington's early military career, on his passion for land, his love of finery, his planter's pleasure in hunting and card playing, his steady moral growth, and his involvement in the protests that culminated in the Revolution. The situations in which young Washington acted vaingloriously or even disingenuously are not glossed over. If Flexner is inclined to give his hero the benefit of the doubt, he is far removed in tone from panegyrists of the old school. This promises to be the biography of Washington that will best serve our generation: full but not clogged with detail, and striking an acceptable balance between adulation and debunking.

University of Sussex

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

DAVID RAMSAY, 1749-1815: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS.

Edited with introduction and notes by *Robert L. Brunhouse*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LV, Part 4.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1965. Pp. 250. \$6.00.)

THIS work should encourage the current modest revival of interest in David Ramsay. Since, apparently, there is no body of Ramsay's papers extant, Robert L. Brunhouse has compiled this volume mainly from Ramsay's letters found in other collections. All but a few of the three hundred letters printed here are from, rather than to, Ramsay; more than a third of them to Benjamin Rush, John Eliot, and Jedidiah Morse. The volume also contains four short pieces by Ramsay, a bibliography of his writings, and an introductory sketch and assessment of the man.

In his letters Ramsay comes less alive than one would wish, except momentarily in a couple of affectionate passages to his third wife, Martha Laurens. Generally he seems a little remote, dispassionate about public matters, reticent about himself except for an occasional note of mild complaint. His letters are wholly without humor, save for the unintentional humor of some of his medical opinions: "Have you tried Opium in venereal disease?" he asks Rush; or, with much satisfaction, "I bled more people everyday last August than I formerly used to do in six months practice." For all this, Ramsay shows himself an authentic man of the Enlightenment—curious, optimistic, rational, and sometimes more judicious than greater men of the age. "I admire your generous indignation at slavery," he wrote Jefferson, "but think you have depressed the negroes too low."

His letters support the view that Ramsay's frequent plagiarism in his histories is, to some degree, explained by his view of history as a body of simple and agreed fact, a kind of text, on which the historian makes his personal comment and draws moral lessons, much as a preacher bases his sermons on a Biblical text.

Considering his fragmentary and dispersed sources, the editor has done a skillful job of giving coherence to this volume. The annotation is accurate, usually helpful, but sometimes overdone. It is not really necessary, for example, to identify Louis XIV as "one of the dominating monarchs of Europe," or to say of Hume that he was a Scot who "wrote much on philosophy."

University of Toronto

W. H. NELSON

THE DIARY OF COLONEL LANDON CARTER OF SABINE HALL, 1752-1778. In two volumes. Edited with an introduction by *Jack P. Greene*. [Virginia Historical Society Documents, Volumes IV and V.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1965. Pp. xvi, 586; 587-1204. \$25.00 the set.)

IN a figure of popular speech, Landon Carter was born to the purple. Son of "King" Carter, the baby Landon opened his eyes on a Virginia just coming of age, but not yet free of the ragged slough of adolescence. When he finally closed them, his country had reached radiant maturity, cut the bond with Britain, and was fighting for independence. In the intervening seven decades Carter had been active and successful in every pursuit—his education, endowment, marriages, plantation management, and politics—but somehow he had failed to qualify as a man of mark. He left behind an impressive literary legacy, more complete than those of his more important contemporaries. These tempting materials, a biographer's dream, have not, however, lured his editor into a "life and times" to rescue Carter from unwarranted oblivion. Rather they have given him an editorial opportunity: to put in useful form for readers the informative diaries in which the principal speaks of his times and even more illuminatingly of himself.

Professor Greene has assembled two major and two minor sets of diurnal writings. The first runs from 1752 to 1758 and includes the unique legislative journal of the House of Burgesses for the years 1752-1755. The second, kept in assorted booklets, picks up in 1770 and continues until 1778, the year of Carter's death. Between these two larger diaries Carter made sketchier records. Finally Greene has prefixed a useful introduction consisting of a vita and a thoughtful analysis of Carter's personal psychology. The richness of the diary fully justifies the editor's careful preparation of this edition.

The diary is more than mere daily incident, valuable as that is. At another level the reader discovers a secret Landon Carter, perhaps one suspected by his contemporaries in their intuitive way, with an insecurity syndrome that eternally prevented easy adjustment to his world. Landon Carter makes John Randolph of Roanoke easier to believe.

University of Maryland

AUBREY C. LAND

THE RISE OF THE WEST, 1754-1830. By *Francis S. Philbrick*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. xvii, 398. \$6.00.)

THIS volume is traditional in its subject matter and general organization. The author discusses at chapter length the topics readers would expect, including British rule in the West, 1763-1774, the region's role in the War of Independence, its settlement, and the establishment of government and land policy there during the Confederation and early national period. Then the author bifurcates the region, Northwest and Southwest, to deal with diplomatic relations over boundaries, Indians, and navigation. After discussing the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas, and the Burr conspiracy, he considers such subjects as Indian removal,

disposal of the public lands, the Great Migration, the evolution of western economy, and concludes with a critical appraisal of frontier society.

Quite wisely, no attempt is made to discuss these subjects at length or in depth. Instead the author has elected to make a commentary on well-known events, negotiations, documents, and individuals that are, in his judgment, misunderstood. Because he is a lawyer, Professor Philbrick has a predilection for treaty negotiations and legislation, which leads to an emphasis on these subjects. As a result, he illuminates such subjects as the Proclamation Line of 1763, various Indian treaties, the status of western land claims and companies, and diplomatic intrigues, especially in the Southwest. His views on legal affairs are succinct. Knowledgeable historians would welcome an opportunity to debate the author's interpretations and vigorous opinions expressed in every chapter.

Philbrick asserts that he has minimized the romance of the West as a sacrifice to truth. Even so, the most striking pages of the book are those in which he is dealing with controversial, romantic western leaders like William Blount, James Wilkinson, and Aaron Burr. In my opinion, the discussion of social and economic affairs in the chapters on the Great Migration and the establishment of agriculture, industry, and trade in the trans-Appalachian West is exceptionally well balanced and objective, yet with enough romance to excite the reader's imagination.

The West is pictured as a region characterized by optimism and individualism, less rigid social and economic stratification, less culture, and more illiteracy and rude manners. A primary reason for the democracy of the frontier was that Englishmen had acquired a devotion to self-government before going there. Nationalism was also developed in the area east of the mountains, but the West possessed a strong national feeling contrary to the views of romantic, prejudiced, and repetitive writers who have suggested it was disloyal or separatist in inclination. Nor is there evidence that the West exhibited more lawlessness, violence, or turbulence than any other section of the country.

Admirers of Frederick Jackson Turner will be disappointed to read that the interaction of the pioneer and wilderness did not alter any important institution. Turner's suggestion that "the evolution of American political institutions was dependent on the advance of the frontier" is dismissed as an absurdity. His treatment of western ideals is as unsatisfactory to Philbrick as that of institutions. The regenerative influence of the frontier is deemed irrational. In place of Turner's "fabulous tribute" to the frontier's influence, the author admittedly submits a "dull substitute" emphasizing the great isolation, self-dependence, and dreary work of the frontiersman. Above all else, the frontier satisfied the hope of millions for cheap land at a time when land was the surest means of guaranteeing family security.

This is an important book that should be examined carefully by all historians interested either in the period or the region. The author has read widely in the scattered monographic literature, and historians will be indebted to him for summarizing the interpretive literature on countless subjects. More important, the book is thought provoking, even argumentative, and will doubtless lure many younger historians into debate. Perhaps as a final comment it should be noted that both the title page and cover of the book advertise that the period

under review runs from 1754 to 1830, but the author's account begins in 1763.
University of California, Davis W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

THE GOVERNORS OF CALIFORNIA: PETER H. BURNETT TO EDMUND G. BROWN. By *H. Brett Melendy* and *Benjamin F. Gilbert*. (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1965. Pp. 482. \$15.00.)

For the study of California's past it is difficult to think of a more needed book than a history of its neglected governors. Though seldom great men, they have long deserved attention. The authors begin with an over-all chapter covering the Spanish, Mexican, and United States military governors in California's prestatehood period from 1769 to 1849. Although this is an initial disappointment, thereafter each of the thirty-two American civilian governors rates a chapter. A "calendar of events" is furnished for each governor's biographical sketch, along with a bibliography. No footnotes are included; nor are they required.

Most of these later governors came from modest origins; few were highly educated. Fewer of them, like Hiram Johnson or Earl Warren, became national figures. No governor of California has gone on to become President of the United States, although two became vice-presidential candidates and one became Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court. Because of their disparity in background it is difficult to compare them, or even to rate their sometimes obscure administrations. As a result, most California historians have simply omitted mention of the state's governors from their writings.

A reviewer should not prescribe a different book than that which he reviews. A better-integrated volume would have resulted, however, had the authors decided to write more than a series of independent sketches. Comparative over-all analyses of education, economic status, leadership, and degrees of talent would have made this a totally different, if more involved, effort. Actually, a bit of such analysis occurs in certain of the sketches, including that of the current governor, Edmund G. Brown, and in a two-page epilogue. Although limited in power, California's strongest governors have managed to exercise a pervasive influence in areas beyond politics. Even though the authors did not write a more ambitious book, the study of history proceeds one step at a time. It must have been difficult to reconstruct the careers of the more obscure governors. Furthermore, numerous inaccuracies had to be corrected, and interpretations of each career made. This volume provides students of the state with an undeniably handy compendium. As it stands, it becomes the only volume devoted exclusively to California's governors.

Occidental College

ANDREW ROLLE

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA. By *Jackson Turner Main*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 330. \$6.50.)

READERS of this book will discover that "the social structure of Revolutionary America" consisted of lower, middle, and upper strata; that American society was less rigidly stratified than European society but by no means "democratic"

(that is, egalitarian); that social mobility was probably higher in America than in Europe, especially since distinction was more a matter of achievement than of ascription, but that it was easier to gain access to the middle range of affluence than to the top; and that most eighteenth-century Americans received no formal education and did not have a rich cultural life but that the wealthy were better off in this regard than the poor. These conclusions, subdivided, elaborated, and qualified in a variety of ways, are presented with a formidable array of documentation and quantification. There is no doubt that they are correct.

That they are also platitudinous should not keep one from noting that this is the only attempt that has been made to prove, statistically, rather than merely illustrate, their truth. No one previously has attempted to state in terms of percentages of the distribution of wealth what these assumptions might mean. Professor Main has worked diligently, especially in the local archives, to establish this fresh statistical information. In successive chapters he discusses, largely in quantitative terms, "the economic class structure of the North," emphasizing regional variations in degrees of economic stratification (the frontier, he finds, was more "democratic" than the towns or the commercial farm areas), stratification in the South, the income and expenses of different occupational groups, economic mobility (greatest on the frontier), contemporary estimates of occupational prestige, and "culture patterns" (that is, differential availability of schools, reading materials, music, and so forth). His research in a wide array of archives has also produced much useful miscellaneous data, incidental to his main theme, concerning, particularly, earnings and expenses.

But Main did not set out simply to prove and particularize familiar assumptions or to assemble a variety of social data. That the book lacks a greater importance is in part the result of an exaggerated insistence on quantification which weakens rather than strengthens one's confidence in the conclusions reached and limits the subtlety of both the questions asked and the answers given. On certain occasions, when comprehensive figures are missing, individual cases that happen to permit quantification are selected and are used without apparent justification as models of the whole. The citations of sources for certain of the summary statistics are at times vague or nonexistent. Broad generalizations are built up at certain points by passing lightly over the inadequacies of the preliminary data. Occasionally figures are used even when they are inappropriate to the questions asked or unreliable by virtue of the incompleteness of the data or because of reasonable suspicion of built-in biases.

But in greater part the limitations of the book derive from its central definitions and underlying conceptions. Main's primary objective in analyzing "the class structure of early America" was, he writes, to settle a disagreement he had observed between historians who stress "economic classes" and class conflict and those who stress "an 'economic democracy' in which 'the people were much of a piece'"—a formulation that leads him directly into the question of the definition of "class." There are two kinds of classes, he explains: economic, determined by the distribution of property, and social, determined by different degrees of prestige as expressed in public opinion. Were there, he asks, "classes" in these two senses? Were there, in other words, differences among people measured in terms of property and differences measured in terms of prestige? Yes, the answer is, there were.

But given the documentation available and the massive literature on social stratification that now exists, this is a limiting question. It is limiting, first, because it approaches the complex problems of stratification through a simple and rigid definition of "class" rather than in an open-ended, flexible way that would allow the peculiarities of the situation to emerge; second, because it takes its shape from an anomaly in historians' interpretations rather than in the historical data themselves; and third, because it does not permit answers in terms of trends and development so crucial to historical understanding. Working within a narrow concept of stratification and concentrating his attention on a brief span of years, Main is kept from thinking his way into the complexity of the subject and from examining change, even as it affected the revolutionary generation.

Yet Main has worked assiduously with some of the most unyielding kind of documents. Despite its limitations his book brings more information to bear on the question of economic and social differences in the revolutionary period than has been mobilized before, and it points to the excellent possibilities of research in the materials he has chosen.

Harvard University

BERNARD BAILYN

DAVID HOSACK: CITIZEN OF NEW YORK. By *Christine Chapman Robbins*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume LXII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1964. Pp. vii, 246. \$3.50.)

DAVID Hosack (1769–1835) was much admired in his own time. His salons were at the center of the intellectual life of New York City in the early nineteenth century, and, through his active participation, he gave direction to many of the learned and professional societies of his city. Beyond this, although his own scientific efforts were grander in conception than in accomplishment, he was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society and in the Royal Society of London. Unfortunately, esteem of his contemporaries has given way to a vague recollection that it was Hosack who attended Alexander Hamilton after the duel with Burr. Mrs. Robbins, in this first full-scale biography, has more than compensated for the modern neglect of her subject.

She treats his roles as a physician and as a medical educator particularly well. In the former capacity, Hosack had the prime practice of his city, due perhaps to his moderation when compared with the heroic measures prescribed by his great Philadelphia contemporary, Benjamin Rush. Theoretically, Hosack was committed to humoralism, which, although it was old-fashioned, may have contributed to his own common-sense practice. As an educator, Hosack was frequently embroiled in controversy. He served on the faculties of Columbia College, of the College of Physicians, and of the abortive Rutgers Medical College. The author does not minimize the part played by Hosack's own contentious nature and his self-interest in the stormy affairs of medical education in New York, but she does find him generally on the side of high standards. In part, the Rutgers episode, of which Hosack was prime mover, was a reaction to an effort to "democratize" the College of Physicians, an effort that cost Hosack and his associates control of the college.

Robbins is most concerned with Hosack's activities in botany and horticulture. In England Hosack studied with such Linnaeans as William Curtis and James

Edward Smith, and he, in turn, influenced such American figures as Amos Eaton and John Torrey. His major effort in the science, the Elgin Botanic Garden, which he established on the site of what is now Rockefeller Center, was short lived. He was nearly bankrupted by the project even though he transferred it to the state of New York which permitted it to languish.

This work is, in the main, admirable. It has a fine bibliography, an adequate index, and a useful list of Hosack family portraits. I object only mildly to the genealogical material which is not, unfortunately, confined to an appendix.

University of Delaware

GEORGE F. FRICK

THE KING'S FRIENDS: THE COMPOSITION AND MOTIVES OF THE AMERICAN LOYALIST CLAIMANTS. By *Wallace Brown*. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 411. \$7.00.)

BASICALLY a statistical survey of the American loyalists who filed for compensation with the Royal Claims Commission at the close of the Revolution, this work is ably supplemented with impressive personal data. It consists, primarily, of a detailed and skillful state-by-state analysis of the claimants, who are analyzed according to residence, occupation, wealth, religion, and national origin. A lengthy, perceptive conclusion, several useful maps, and a splendid statistical appendix of comprehensive tables on the claimants of each state round out the work. Although Brown has drawn upon a wide range of both primary and secondary materials, the *American Loyalist Transcripts* (Audit Office Papers), which have here received definitive treatment, were the focus of his study.

It was Brown's aim to answer two questions: "who were the Loyalists and why were they loyal?" Thus he analyzed the 2,908 white loyalists who eventually submitted claims, and although he recognizes that this group is not synonymous with all loyalists, he suggests (though some will challenge the assumption) that they were a "useful and sometimes representative sample." He comes nearer to identifying the loyalists than explaining their motivation, although, despite the conventional nature of his conclusions, I believe his analysis is more successful than the limited nature of his sources permits him to claim. He supports Nelson's argument that loyalists were generally local cultural minorities and the traditional view that they were weighted toward wealth and privilege, recent immigration, and the seaboard. Despite its factual nature, this is also a work of inference, conveying much of its meaning by suggestion and indirection. The strength of the loyalists (which except for Pennsylvania accords with previous estimates) is thus calculated not only from the claimants but also from weighing the severity of loyalist treatment, the relative harshness of antiloyalist legislation, and the presence or absence of barriers to their return at the war's close.

Although the work's limitations inhere chiefly in the fragmentary nature of surviving loyalist sources, the author could have avoided a few questionable passages. Despite express disclaimers, he sometimes confuses the "Loyalist movement" and the "Loyalist claimants," and he does not emphasize strongly enough the correlation between the geographic pattern of active loyalism and the British occupation. Whether the loyalist refugees who did not submit claims were over-

whelmingly small property holders or recent immigrants with no "position" in provincial society seems to merit critical evaluation.

But these are minor reservations. The work is an impressive achievement, which cannot be obscured even by the publisher's lamentable decision to substitute backnotes for footnotes.

University of Florida

PAUL H. SMITH

OLD PETERSBURG AND THE BROAD RIVER VALLEY OF GEORGIA:
THEIR RISE AND DECLINE. By *Ellis Merton Coulter*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 228. \$6.00.)

THIS latest addition to the stream of scholarly studies of the historical development of Georgia by Professor Coulter is a case study of a once important region in that state and falls naturally into the pattern of his previous studies. Most of the numerous works of this twentieth-century dean of Georgia historians have illuminated obscure, intriguing, and somewhat neglected facets of the history of the state where the author lived and worked during the four decades of his academic and professional career.

An area of five counties located at or near the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers in up-State Georgia was selected for investigation during the period 1780-1820, when the locality was settled, thrived briefly and significantly, produced several important political and social leaders, then suffered rapid decline, deterioration, and return to desolation and largely uninhabited open country.

The factors that produced each of these kaleidoscopic changes are clearly delineated. Settlement was stimulated by Indian treaties that opened the region and the influx of several distinguished Virginia families after the Revolution. Tobacco, in all its phases except final processing, was the economic foundation of Petersburg and the Broad River Valley. The coming of steamboats, railroads, and cotton growing destroyed this base. When, in addition, the new lands of the "western counties" (which soon became Alabama and Mississippi) were opened, the cream of the leadership of the community moved west. Yet Petersburg and the surrounding countryside experienced a brief period of glory, especially in the years 1790-1810. Senators, governors, congressmen, and spiritual and educational leaders seemed to spring from the soil and sprout from the undergrowth: William H. Crawford, Charles Tait, William and Thomas Bibb, and Francis Asbury are probably the best-known of this remarkable group.

The volume will be of more use to students of Georgia history than to those interested in the general development of American life. Some readers may be disturbed at the many pages of genealogical data and the details of duels that did and did not come off. Others may feel that the marshaling of numerous fragments of isolated historical evidence is not really a sound basis for specific generalizations as to social, economic, and political practices. But most readers will be fascinated with this brief chapter in the history of the state, concerned with a town that now lies under fifty feet of water produced by the Clark Hill Dam.

State University of New York, Binghamton

ALBERT V. HOUSE

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Lawrence H. Chamberlain et al.* Edited by *William H. Nelson* with the collaboration of *Francis L. Loewenheim*. [Rice University Semcentennial Publications.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for William Marsh Rice University. 1964. Pp. xv, 149. \$5.50.)

CONSISTING of nine essays, this volume is a distinguished and timely contribution to the literature of American political thought and American history: distinguished because of the uniform excellence with which the authors deal with their subjects; timely because they speak cogently to some of the most persistent national dilemmas of our own time. Of the volume's nine contributors, four are primarily political scientists, and five are primarily historians. If published works are one of the marks of scholarship, the credentials of these contributors are indeed impressive. The purpose of this volume, as stated by the editor, is to examine certain aspects of the American political tradition in the light of present circumstance and current scholarship. The essays seek particularly to illuminate the relationship between constitutional theory and political practice in America, that is, the relationship between what Americans have believed and put into law about politics and what they have done and how they have acted politically.

In a perceptive introduction William H. Nelson concludes that the work of the founding fathers in 1787 represented a fulfillment of earlier practice rather than an abrupt break with it and that the fathers of the founding fathers were not Locke and Montesquieu alone but, among others, Cromwell, Bacon, Coke, Machiavelli, Edward I, Henry II, Thomas Aquinas, and Aristotle. Felix Gilbert discusses the legacy of the Enlightenment in the American mind. Dumas Malone sketches the conflicting interpretations given the Constitution by these statesmen. Carl N. Degler describes the process of settling the two principal American political issues of the period up to the 1880's: the nature of the Union and the compromise arrived at by the two major parties on the political place of the Negro. Lawrence H. Chamberlain argues that structural features of our government have produced certain operating characteristics and concludes that the institutional arrangements provided in the Constitution have contributed constructively to the viability of our political system. Alpheus Thomas Mason states that while myth is a recognized adjunct to the governing process, judicial authority need not be transcendent, awe-inspiring, immune to criticism in order to command public confidence and respect and that judicial decisions based on reason and authority have a moral force far exceeding that of the purse or the sword. Benjamin F. Wright declares that the South's real heritage is the tradition of the "Older South" of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Iredell, the Pinckneys, Rutledge, and Jackson and that this tradition provides the spirit, though not necessarily the specific solutions, that today's South should emulate. Ernest R. May explores a tradition about American policy: the role of public opinion. Louis Morton speaks to the problem of achieving coordination of the political and military considerations that go into the making of national security policy. Hans J. Morgenthau concludes that the American political tradition has two main characteristics—the concept of limited government and the pluralism of America—and that the novel factors that the nation faces in its domestic and international life require a reformulation of the basic

principles of this tradition in the light of the new conditions of the contemporary world.

In my opinion these essays are the finest brief analyses of problems in American political thought to appear in the last decade.

Library of Congress

EDWARD N. MACCONOMY

THE JOHN GRAY BLOUNT PAPERS. Volume III, 1796-1802. Edited by William H. Masterson. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 621. \$5.00.)

This third installment of selected letters from the substantial collection of papers of one of the more active political figures and economic operators in the post-revolutionary and early national periods of the history of North Carolina reproduces 509 letters, contracts, and financial statements for the years 1796-1802, with the heaviest concentration of items in 1796 and 1800.

Volumes I and II of this series appeared in 1952 and 1959 under the editorship of Dr. Alice B. Keith. This volume is the product of the "loving editorial care" of William H. Masterson, biographer of William Blount and sometime editor of the *Journal of Southern History*. These manuscripts offer extensive information and detailed economic data on land sales and speculation, river and coastal shipping and commerce, money and credit procedures and transactions, and the variety of plantation and consumer supplies of the period. They are confined almost exclusively to developments in the Tarheel State, supplemented by a few items from Tennessee, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Nearly all were selected from the incoming correspondence of John Gray Blount. In spite of the political prominence of the Blount family, especially the brothers John Gray, William, and Thomas, this volume offers little on national politics and United States foreign policy. There are intriguing letters on the election of Andrew Jackson to the United States Senate in 1797, the impact of the naval war with France of 1798, and the triangular contest between President John Adams, the "Anglo-Feds," and the Republicans to interrupt but not settle that irregular contest by means of the convention of 1800 with France.

As in previous volumes, names, places, and treaties (except those with the Indians) are meticulously identified in footnotes. A reviewer of the first volume expressed a desire for more informative editorial guidance "through complicated commercial, and [local] political transactions." Nonexpert readers of Volume III probably will feel the same.

State University of New York, Binghamton

ALBERT V. HOUSE

THE INCREDIBLE WAR OF 1812: A MILITARY HISTORY. By J. Mackay Hitsman. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. x, 265. \$7.50.)

THE title of this book is apt for this war should never have been fought. That it was, and so indecisively, is a matter of history, but our versions are too often colored by concepts of the dramatic coup of Andrew Jackson at New Orleans.

This version of the war by a capable Canadian military historian is welcome and helpful, therefore, because of its viewpoint from the other side.

Like the chauvinism too often displayed in United States history, that exhibited in this volume does not clearly establish the fact that the War of 1812 was provoked by Britain's maritime policy in its war with Napoleon and by its friendly relations with the Indian tribes of the American Northwest at a time when such cordiality should have been neutral. On the other hand, the young war hawks in our Congress were all too eager to secure possession of Canada and Florida. The author fittingly points out that less than thirty years had passed since the end of the American Revolution and that bitter memories and stinging scars of that important conflict still existed in both nations. The plight of the British loyalists made a convenient and somewhat justifiable excuse for Britain to refuse to evacuate most of the inland posts built in territory that the peace treaty recognized as part of the new United States. The continued impressment of seamen raised old alarms, and the fiasco of Jefferson's embargo drew us to the battlefield instead of the more logical conference table.

This book, however, makes no pretense of being a political study of the war. It is, instead, a sort of useful handbook about the local engagements with special emphasis on those in and near Canada. The loyalists living there still smarted under their humiliation and cruel exile by the American patriots. Many of them were only too glad to turn against their former countrymen, and did. Much deserved emphasis is placed on the part that General George Prevost played in the victories of the Canadian and British forces. From the engagements at Sandwich to Lundy's Lane, the book describes, in not always organized detail, the fighting that occurred. American Generals Hull and Dearborn look ridiculous, while Winfield Scott and William H. Harrison stand out favorably in this little war.

New York University

NORTH CALLAHAN

WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR: A BIOGRAPHY OF CHIEF JUSTICE
ROGER BROOKE TANEY. By *Walker Lewis*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin
Company. 1965. Pp. viii, 556. \$7.50.)

AFTER Roger B. Taney's death a fellow judge remarked that he had "never known a purer or better man." An anonymous pamphlet, however, said of him: "As a man, a Christian and a Jurist, he falls below the lowest standard of humanity, religion and law recognized among civilized men." His latest biographer, Walker Lewis, the general solicitor for the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Companies, comes much closer to the first than to the second of those judgments, yet presents a well-balanced account of both Taney's personal life and his public career.

Lewis writes in a leisurely and engaging style, with constant attention to picturesque detail. His book is especially effective in re-creating Taney as a person, one extremely conscientious in his pursuit of justice "without fear or favor," honest and decent in all his human relationships, and thoroughly devoted to his wife and family—and to his Cuban cigars. The treatment of his role in national affairs, as Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice, is full,

well rounded, and always clear, particularly in the exposition of the factual background, the legal and constitutional issues, and the judicial reasoning in Supreme Court cases. Lewis writes as a biographer, not as a mere attorney for the defense, and at all the many controversial points in Taney's long career he recognizes the existence of two sides and is fair to both. Yet he stands up for Taney, most notably in regard to the Bank War, the Dred Scott decision, and the Merryman case. Taney's views on the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, Lewis feels, were not obiter dicta; nor should Taney have contented himself with declaring that Scott was no citizen and hence not entitled to sue. Lewis suggests "that it was not only proper for Taney to proceed further, but that from a strictly judicial standpoint any other course would have been unwise, even improper." In opposing President Lincoln, Lewis says, the Chief Justice was only following his constitutional scruples, as always. "Just as it was Lincoln's function to produce victory, so it was Taney's to protect constitutional rights."

Though Lewis makes independent judgments, his presentation of the major topics is essentially derivative in the sense of being based mainly on familiar monographs, including older ones. He relies heavily, for example, on R. C. H. Catterall's *The Second Bank of the United States* (1902), which he considers the "best history of the Bank." In an appendix, however, he makes at least a modest contribution to original scholarship by identifying Charles Sumner as the probable author of *The Unjust Judge* (1865), the anonymous pamphlet damning Taney soon after his death. For the general reader, Lewis' biography is certainly the best available on the subject. For the specialist in constitutional history, it will not be particularly rewarding, but it is full of good material for the college teacher who is preparing or revising lectures on any phase of American history with which Taney's career coincides.

University of Wisconsin

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE DIARY AND JOURNAL OF RICHARD CLOUGH ANDERSON, JR.,
1814-1826. Edited by *Alfred Tischendorf* and *E. Taylor Parks*. (Durham,
N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. xxvii, 342. \$7.50.)

ANDERSON was a Kentucky lawyer and legislator, a member of the national House of Representatives, the first United States minister to a Latin American nation, the negotiator of our first treaty with Colombia, and, at the time of his death, a delegate to the abortive Panama Congress of 1826.

The interesting and valuable diary in which he recorded his experiences and observations from 1814 to 1826 is here published for the first time. It is ably edited by two Latin American historians, whose editorial touch is always sure on matters in their special field and only occasionally less sure in United States matters. Their well-written and informative preface, introduction, and footnotes are supplemented by a thirty-six-page list of names with identifications and by five maps illustrating Anderson's travels. The detailed accounts of those travels reveal transportation conditions which, while bad enough in the United States, were almost incredibly difficult and perilous in Venezuela and Colombia. One can well understand Anderson's elation at the "unparalleled" progress made in 1817 when stage-

coaches could carry the mails westward to Louisville and when a steamboat made the trip from New Orleans to Louisville in only twenty-five days. There is much here about Louisville, national and Kentucky politics, and many frank evaluations of politicians during his five legislative sessions in Kentucky and his two congressional terms in the Washington of President James Monroe, but more than half of the diary is about his diplomatic career.

His observations are those of a young man—he was only thirty-eight when he died of jungle fever at Cartagena in 1826—pleasant, courteous, conscientious, and devoted to his family and country. His record as legislator and diplomat, while not distinguished or brilliant, is that of a good, honorable, and competent public servant.

University of Virginia

BERNARD MAYO

JOURNALS OF HEZEKIAH PRINCE, JR., 1822–1828. Introduction by *Walter Muir Whitehill*. Foreword by *Robert Greenhalgh Albion*. (New York: Crown Publishers for the Maine Historical Society. 1965. Pp. xxii, 448. \$12.50.)

SINGLE, gregarious, and ambitious for self-improvement, Hezekiah Prince, Jr., of Thomaston, Maine, decided in 1822 at the age of twenty-one to keep a diary, not uncommon for a young man in those days. The fact that he was the son of the storekeeper and a deputy customs collector in this seaport town gave him added opportunity to see and hear what was going on about him. There is not much material here to trace the growth of character or of a philosophy of life, but he writes something about nearly every aspect of small-town affairs: marriages and deaths, sermons and speeches, debating societies, militia musters, and parties galore, dancing, skating, sleighing, fishing, not to mention picnics and steamboat rides. Accidents, sickness, operations, and doctors' remedies remind us of the hazards of everyday life. Occasionally tragedy may be glimpsed in the prosaic entries of collections for unfortunates. The occurrences thus entered are happenings so universal that they appeal to all sorts of readers and give more of the feel of the times than reams of description.

The historian will be particularly interested in the experiences of the young man as deputy customs collector. The coastwise trade was considerable, and the diarist enters the names of the ships with their captains. His frequent success in finding undeclared dutiable goods gives a realistic picture of the pattern of local trade.

The publication of this volume by the Maine Historical Society is to be commended and might well be followed by other publications of nineteenth-century significance. The editor, Arthur Spear, has done his best to remain anonymous. His was no small task, and he deserves our thanks. He has provided in an appendix a list of vessels mentioned (124 in all), which will be an aid to the maritime historian of Maine. In addition, instead of biographical footnotes, he has sensibly provided, alphabetically arranged, a list of persons mentioned with brief identifications taken perhaps too literally from Cyrus Eaton's histories of Thomaston and Warren. Fortunately, the rather obvious errors in these will not diminish their usefulness.

Boston University

ROBERT E. MOODY

NEW JERSEY POLITICAL REMINISCENCES, 1828-1882. By *Charles Perrin Smith*. Edited by *Hermann K. Platt*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 278. \$8.50.)

CHARLES Perrin Smith's career in New Jersey politics was not particularly distinguished. He served one term in the state senate and for fifteen years as clerk of the New Jersey Supreme Court; more importantly, he was a member and sometime chairman of the State Executive Committee of the United Opposition and Republican parties. From his own testimony, Smith performed conscientiously and effectively in these various capacities, but his role was a minor one, even on the limited political stage of the Garden State. What has saved Smith from oblivion, as Professor Platt observes, are his political reminiscences. Smith's account provides a unique insider's view of party politics in New Jersey from the 1840's to the 1880's. As a Whig and Republican, Smith was a thorough professional concerned with the mechanics of winning elections, steering bills through the legislature, and maintaining his own lucrative position. It is from this vantage point that Smith tells of the antimonopoly struggle with the Joint Companies (a corporation that enjoyed a monopoly of rail and canal transportation across New Jersey); of the creation of the Opposition party as a fusion of Whigs, Americans, and Republicans; of the impact of the Civil War on Garden State politics; and of the factional conflicts within Republican ranks during Reconstruction. Also included in appendixes are Smith's versions of the establishment of a Lifesaving Service on the New Jersey coast and of the nomination of Lincoln in 1860.

Written near the close of his life, Smith's reminiscences were clearly motivated by the desire for personal vindication and for literary revenge upon his opponents. This special pleading, as Platt warns, colored Smith's interpretations of the events he purports to describe. Yet the reminiscences are of value as an intimate if biased view of New Jersey politics during these years. The editor has skillfully woven the text together from three manuscript narratives. He has also provided an informative introduction, a biographical guide, and extensive critical and informational notes. Students of nineteenth-century New Jersey history are indebted to Platt for making these very useful political memoirs available.

University of Illinois

RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

NAUVOO: KINGDOM ON THE MISSISSIPPI. By *Robert Bruce Flanders*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 364. \$6.50.)

HERE is another "Mormon book," but with a difference: it is the latest in the recent series of works written by Mormons but objective enough to be read by non-Mormons. Writing with scholarly sophistication, this second generation of Mormon authors, mostly academics, has acquired enough distance from the consensual pressures of their faith to escape the old Mormon-anti-Mormon division.

This newer current in Mormon historiography may be dated from the late 1950's, with the appearance of Leonard J. Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900*, which, despite the title, deals primarily with Utah. The Flanders book complements Arrington for the years 1839-1846, but it is not primarily economic. Flanders describes in detail

almost every Mormon activity of the Nauvoo period; the focus is on the general history of the Mormon people and not on Nauvoo as a city. Thus, much space is given to the "English mission," presumably because it was very active during the Nauvoo period, but little is said of the significance of the British converts once they arrive. Most of the subject matter is familiar: the gathering, the special city charter, the role of the Mormons in state politics, the internal conflicts over polygamy, the succession crisis, the final removal.

The particular value of the book is twofold. First, it shows considerable original research in its detailed account of Joseph Smith's land speculation and the related Mormon attempts to develop business, industry, and finance in Nauvoo. Combined with a strongly economic description of the building of the temple and the "Nauvoo House" hotel, this constitutes about one-third of the book. Second, Flanders brings together in one place much familiar but scattered information relating to the Mormons in Nauvoo.

Flanders' straightforward presentation contains little interpretation, but it is worth noting that he writes from the viewpoint of the Reorganized branch of Mormonism. While fair to the Utah Mormons, he is a little more critical than is usual of the Prophet's behavior in Nauvoo, and he describes Young's take-over as a kind of near usurpation of the mantle of the Prophet.

Disappointing in so ambitious a monograph is Flanders' indifference to the larger questions that interest historians: the rise of the city, the nature of the frontier, the relation of religion to society. A regrettable weakness is that Flanders did not avail himself of the writings of P. A. M. Taylor on the English converts, of William Mulder on the doctrine of the gathering, or, astonishingly, B. H. Roberts' classic *Rise and Fall of Nauvoo*. Combined with the last work, *Nauvoo* will be a most useful reference book for specialists in Mormon history.

University of Massachusetts

MARIO S. DE PILLIS

ON THE MORMON FRONTIER: THE DIARY OF HOSEA STOUT, 1844-1861. In two volumes. Edited by *Juanita Brooks*. ([Salt Lake City:] University of Utah Press; Utah State Historical Society. 1964. Pp. xix, 327; ix, 332-769. \$17.50 the set.)

ONE of the great services rendered by the WPA a quarter of a century ago was to open to "gentile" (that is, non-Mormon) historians a great mass of material bearing on the early history of the Mormons. Among the treasures discovered at that time was a diary of Hosea Stout, who served in the 1840's and 1850's as a militia officer, police commander, public and private attorney, and legislator. While working for the WPA in 1941, Dale Morgan made the initial discovery of some of Stout's diaries. Other scholars subsequently tracked down additional fragments, and now the Utah State Historical Society has retained a veteran student of Mormon history, Juanita Brooks, to edit the whole.

The resultant narrative gives us one of the most important insights we have ever had into the way in which public affairs were conducted within the Mormon community. The diaries are especially rich in comments on litigation, which occupied a large part of Stout's time. His daily notations make it evident that there were more misbehavior, animosity, and resort to lawsuits than we have realized—

or, to express the same conclusion in different terms, the Mormons were more "normal" and less idyllically harmonious than generalized accounts have implied.

Similarly, the diaries illuminate the way in which the Mormons' "guided democracy" functioned. Usually there was some species of popular ratification of the choice of officeholders, but nomination came mysteriously from on high. Of his election to the lower house of the legislature in 1849, Stout remarked: "By what process I became a Representative I know not." He shows also that on rare occasions popular approval could be denied. When two unpopular individuals were proposed in 1849 as majors in the Nauvoo Legion, "both [were] most contemptuously hissed down. When any person is thus duly nominated I never before knew the people to reject it."

Some of Stout's diary entries are virtually a journal of the Utah legislature, and sometimes his comments are more detailed than the official proceedings. Not all of Stout's attention, however, was given to public affairs. An affectionate husband and father, he records in moving language the agonies he suffered when he returned from a preaching mission to China to find his wife and baby dead, his other children gone, and his house occupied by strangers. Yet such was the rigorous discipline of the Mormon Church that four months later Stout was preparing to depart on a new mission. Truly the Mormon hierarchy demanded much of its followers—and generally received the obedience they asked.

California Institute of Technology

RODMAN WILSON PAUL

TWENTY YEARS ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE: LETTERS OF HENRY ENO FROM CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA, 1848-1871. Edited and with an introduction by *W. Turrentine Jackson*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 8.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 224. \$6.00.)

PIONEER letters home seldom illuminate history or make sprightly reading for later generations. Henry Eno, however, wrote letters that were exceptions to the rule set by the many long, dull, historically irrelevant letters that poured east from the California-Nevada mining camps. Eno's letters were short, lively, and unusually pertinent to the history of at least four mining regions: Mokelumne Hill and Campo Seco, California, 1852-1858; Alpine County, California, 1865-1869; White Pine, Nevada, 1868-1869; and the Mojave Desert-Death Valley country.

Eno was born in Dutchess County, New York, in 1798. He studied law under his lawyer father's watchful eye, briefly practiced the profession in western New York State where he earned little from his clients, developed a "fondness for alcohol," and eventually went west. He settled in Iowa, married, and then decided that California needed his talents as a lawyer, businessman, writer, and Whig politician. In 1849 the Enos traveled the overland route through Salt Lake City to Los Angeles and, a few months later, built a canvas-covered frame home at Mokelumne Hill. During the succeeding years Eno wrote letters east detailing his none too spectacular political and business career; his travels and personal tragedies (the death of his wife and daughter); and, with keen insight, the life of the communities in which he lived. He was an eternal optimist, "philosopher

and dreamer" who, until he retired old and broke to the family farm in New York, hoped to find gold in every creek.

W. Turrentine Jackson has carefully edited forty-four of Eno's letters, now in the Yale University Library, and combined them with a lengthy, thoroughly researched introduction under a title that Eno himself suggested he might use for his memoirs someday when the mines gave out. The result of Eno's talent as a gifted writer and Jackson's precision as a historian is a vivid, well-documented volume. What little criticism the book deserves—it lacks a map and carries a poor frontispiece—is better directed at the Yale University Press than at Eno and his editor.

University of Texas

JOHN E. SUNDER

J. ROSS BROWNE: CONFIDENTIAL AGENT IN OLD CALIFORNIA.
By *Richard H. Dillon*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 218. \$5.95.)

As Richard Dillon points out in his preface, in the last decade or so there has been a substantial renewal of interest in J. Ross Browne, the Irish immigrant who traveled in the East Indies, Europe, and particularly in the Far West teaching himself to write and earning a reputation as a kind of "poor man's" Mark Twain. The Browne revival took the form of a series of reprints of Browne's experiences on the Pacific slope: his description of California Indians; his letters to his wife while he was official recorder of the California Constitutional Convention of 1849; his account of Washoe days in Nevada; his impressions of Indians and mining in frontier Arizona; and a cluster of articles in *Harper's* in the early 1860's. In the flurry of reprints the years 1854-1857, between Browne's return from his first trip to Europe and his well-known adventures in Washoe, were neglected. Dillon seeks "to illuminate this 'lost' chapter of Browne's life."

For most of the four-year period Browne held a *sub rosa* commission as third lieutenant, United States Revenue Service. Confidential agent Browne made his way up and down California and into the Pacific Northwest observing closely; gathering statistics; recommending removal of duties on Mexican cattle going into California, slashes in rents charged the government for custom-houses, and elimination of revenue stations in "ports" that had no shipping; deploring smuggling (though I could find no actual evidence or specific example of smuggling in the book); and reporting case after case of revenue officials being paid for doing nothing or the next thing to it. Dillon sees Browne as a faithful, energetic, incorruptible reformer responsible in large measure for the "renaissance" (the word is Dillon's) in the revenue service announced by Secretary of the Treasury James Guthrie late in 1854, although Browne still had more than two years left to serve as agent.

In May 1857 Browne undertook to investigate Indian-white relations in Oregon and Washington for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In his report Browne sensibly dispelled any suspicion that the Indian troubles in the Northwest in the middle 1850's were brought on by settlers for speculative purposes. He saw the problem as quite simply an unavoidable clash between contradictory cultures and recommended dividing the region into three separate superintendencies.

Dillon quotes his subject at considerable length, giving the reader generous slices of Browne's heavily satirical style and revealing the agent as an engaging combination of comic and conscientious reporter. This book, moreover, closes a gap in the record. Dillon's colorful and dramatic prose betrays him into suggesting, however, that Browne was a man of more heroic proportions and more spectacular accomplishments than is warranted by the evidence the author supplies.

University of Oregon

EDWIN R. BINGHAM

IDOL OF THE WEST: THE FABULOUS CAREER OF ROLLIN MAL-LORY DAGGETT. By *Francis Phelps Weisenburger*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press 1965. Pp. ix, 220. \$6.95.)

It is not recorded that westerners bowed down and worshiped Rollin M. Daggett. But they did admire his eloquence, swagger, and versatility, and that was enough to lead Bernard De Voto to call him "a complete idol of the West." Weisenburger stops one adjective short.

After an apprenticeship in Ohio journalism, Daggett joined the California gold rush. His account of the trip strains geography and credulity, thereby handicapping his biographer. With the launching of the *Golden Era*, of which Daggett was cofounder and editor, the career begins to take shape. The *Golden Era* was a journal to which almost every California writer of consequence contributed. Daggett filled his share of space with editorials, squibs, essays, pieces in the care-free zone of half fiction. Attired in boots and red shirt, he hawked it in the diggings, picking up in nine camps eleven hundred subscriptions.

In 1862 he transferred his talents to Nevada. He was a crony of Mark Twain's on the *Territorial Enterprise*, struck it moderately rich on the Belcher, and for a time managed a coal mine. In 1867 a friend got him an appointment as clerk of the federal court, and in 1878 a larger number of friends elected him to Congress, where he earned a reputation as an impish, jocular, convivial spellbinder, a most appropriate representative of his constituents, who, nevertheless, turned him out for a Democrat. President Hayes rewarded him with an appointment as minister to Hawaii.

Daggett had the good fortune to find a biographer who very diligently piled up the data on Ohio, California, Nevada, and Hawaii against which to display a man of ability and exuberance, foibles and passion. The style is more heavy handed than the man, but does the job.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN W. CAUGHEY

THE INNER CIVIL WAR: NORTHERN INTELLECTUALS AND THE CRISIS OF THE UNION. By *George M. Fredrickson*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. viii, 277. \$6.95.)

Mr. Fredrickson believes that "the few" who have a regard for ideas can tell us more about a crisis of values "than the many who avoid difficult issues and are content to speak in outdated clichés." He relates this concept to the Civil War scene and to some intellectual reactions it provoked, as distinguished from "the well-known political and economic effects."

To the extent that there is any problem here, it would involve the definition of ideas and those presumed interested in them. Everyone now professedly interested in Henry Miller or Vietnam or even Dwight MacDonald is not necessarily an intellectual. In general, Fredrickson's concern for intellectual responses to war seems historically profitable, but mainly as it heralds an expanding inquiry rather than a constricted one. For instance, the author judges Nathaniel Hawthorne's reaction to the Civil War as unique among northern intellectuals. Hawthorne was ironic and detached from it and resisted acceptance of the war aims and means that Thoreau, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Walt Whitman, and numerous others accepted. This gives Hawthorne an independent stature that would be most imposing, if one did not realize that his posture resulted from little more than his close ties to one of the most notorious of "doughfaces," Franklin Pierce, who could boast close to no standing among distinguished intellectuals.

Other facts of social and cultural history are also likely to qualify some of the author's views, but, generally, they offer evocative accounts of northerners in the throes of spiritual unrest. Essential conservatives like Horace Bushnell, millenarians like William Lloyd Garrison, and aristocrats like Francis Parkman move from various individualistic, humanitarian, and class positions to acceptance of the war and its rigors. Numerous lesser-known figures appear here in response to the war's challenge, as martyr types, former transcendentalists, disturbed seekers like William James, who was frustrated in his need for action and for answers to moral and religious dilemmas aggravated by Darwinism and subsequent social Darwinism. Some of these protagonists continue as threads of discourse from the pre-Civil War era, which the author sees as "optimistic," through the Gilded Age, and even, as with Charles Francis Adams, Jr., into the twentieth century. Fredrickson perhaps reveals some personal predilections in his account of the young southern-born abolitionist Moncure Conway, who saw the war as brutalizing the country, but who "was as yet unwilling to follow this insight to its logical conclusion and adopt a pacifist position"—one he subsequently amended.

The whole makes a thoughtful and substantial narrative of intellectual reaction to catastrophe up to and including postwar admiration for science, professionalism in social welfare fields, and the "strenuous life." It affected Edward Bellamy as well as Theodore Roosevelt and helped create William James's imperial essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War." Fredrickson has read his intellectuals well, if not definitively, and his own readers will hardly fail to find the troubled thoughts and actions of his subjects relevant to their own historical musings, past and present.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VIRGINIA STATE CONVENTION OF 1861.
FEBRUARY 13-MAY 1. In four volumes. *George H. Reese*, Editor. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 796; x, 768; ix, 784; xi, 807. \$60.00 the set.)

THIS is the first publication in book form of the copious speeches made at Richmond by members of the Virginia Secession Convention that lasted three months. The addresses are taken from the files of the Richmond *Inquirer*,

the official reporter of the convention. Aside from making known the intentions of the state, this body merely affirmed policies that a majority of Virginians had already agreed upon. Five states of the lower South had seceded before the convention met, and President Lincoln had declared that secession was illegal and that force, if necessary, could be used to bring the departed states back into the Union. The convention made a vain attempt to compromise with Lincoln early in its sessions, but it was unwilling to give up the belief that Virginia had entered the Union voluntarily and had the legal right to leave it in the same manner. Many Virginians favored slavery, and they bitterly resented the ambiguous efforts of Lincoln and some northerners to make it insecure. On the other hand, many opposed the precipitate action of South Carolina and the other cotton states; they knew that the Virginia frontiers were open to attack and that feeling against secession was growing in Washington.

When Fort Sumter was fired upon and Lincoln called for volunteers to march against the seceded states, Virginia left the Union and prepared to repel the invader. On April 17, 1861, the convention favored secession by a vote of 88 to 55. Opposition came largely from that portion of the state later to become West Virginia. The decision of the convention was ratified by a popular vote of 125,250 to 20,373. The state joined the Confederacy and plunged into the bloodiest war in its history.

Longwood College

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

AGRICULTURE AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *Paul W. Gates*. [The Impact of the Civil War; The Civil War Centennial Commission Series.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. x, 383, xiii. \$8.95.)

THIS book is the first in a projected series of fifteen volumes sponsored by the Civil War Centennial Commission and concerned with "The Impact of the Civil War." The commission was singularly fortunate in securing the services of Professor Gates to prepare the study, and it is fitting that this volume should appear first in the series, for the author clearly demonstrates the central importance of agricultural capacity to the war effort of both Union and Confederacy.

While this is the first comprehensive study of agriculture in the Civil War years, it is far more than a narrow analysis of the response of two agricultural economies to the stimulus of wartime demands. Its scope is exceedingly broad, for the author includes relevant material from the ante bellum years and extends the discussion of wartime agricultural policy into the Reconstruction period.

Gates has divided his study into three nearly equal parts, dealing respectively with "The South," "The North," and "The United States." The last two portions exhibit some organizational similarity to his previous work, *The Farmer's Age, 1815-1860*. Briefly, his analysis of northern agriculture involves a discussion of the diversity of crop culture in the North, followed in turn by chapters on the livestock industry, dairying, farm labor, and machinery. The section entitled "The United States" is a general survey of the formulation and implementation of agricultural policy in the war years and early postwar period: the Morrill Act, the Homestead Act, the creation and early work of the Department of Agricul-

ture, the adoption of stay laws in the states, and Union legislation designed to revise the pattern of landholding in the South.

But the most interesting and incisive portion of the volume is the section on the Confederacy. In rich detail Gates describes the formidable problem of forcing a shift from cotton to corn production, the early appearance of shortages with the breakdown of transportation facilities, price inflation, and the ultimate resort of the Confederate government to an agricultural tithe and impressment of foodstuffs and livestock. Finally, in two sparkling chapters aptly entitled "Tightening of the Screws" and "The Belt of Desolation," he traces the progressive diminution of the agricultural capacity of the Confederacy as Union forces secured control of increasingly substantial segments of the land area of the South.

As expected, the volume is largely a synthesis of previously published work, but it also draws heavily on census data, newspapers, and the agricultural press. In addition, Gates has incorporated much fresh material drawn from Confederate newspapers and war records, especially the correspondence of state governors. Though it is curious that a comprehensive work on Civil War agriculture was not prepared long ago, the appearance of this distinguished volume leads me to conclude that it has been well worth the wait.

University of Minnesota, Morris

KAREL DENIS BICHA

GUNBOATS DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI. By *John D. Milligan*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 217. \$7.50.)

ON the western rivers the Confederate States early established "road-blocks" along the Tennessee-Kentucky state line and at the two fortified Mississippi River towns of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Until Federal forces could seize these fortifications the upper Mississippi, with its tributaries, was virtually an inland lake. Not only must the normal river highways be reopened for Union commerce in the Midwest, a matter that Lincoln considered a prime necessity, but the military seizure of Confederate river strongholds would bisect the Confederacy and cut off the eastward flow of food and military stores from west of the river, a flow that became increasingly important to the South as the Union blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts became more effective. The Union War Department, with naval assistance, built and operated a "Western Flotilla" comprised of mortar boats, woodclads, tinclads, and newfangled ironclads, and in the fall of 1862 Congress in the interest of more efficient administration transferred all army gunboats to the navy to form the nucleus of the Navy Department's "Mississippi Squadron."

The story of the operation of the river gunboats and the cooperation of the army and navy in their amphibious progress from an early skirmish at Belmont, Missouri, through the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson in July 1863 is told here by Dr. John D. Milligan. In a sober and scholarly narrative that covers the gunboats' story "for the first time in its entirety," the author shies away from accepting at face value the spirited and often exaggerated reports of Admiral David D. Porter, while at the same time perhaps a little overgenerously admiring the histrionic and utterly "non-reg" operations of the Ellet family with their personally organized and fought ram fleet. Although shorter versions of the gunboats'

story have been told before in various naval histories and bits and pieces of more extended narrative are to be found in memoirs and biographies, it is useful to have this moderately extended treatment of the whole story between two covers.

Annapolis, Maryland

RICHARD S. WEST, JR.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR. Volume III, NEVER CALL RETREAT. By Bruce Catton. E. B. Long, Director of Research. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xi, 555. \$7.50.)

For scholarship, comprehensiveness, and graceful style, Bruce Catton's *Never Call Retreat*, the third and final volume in his ambitious *Centennial History*, deserves the widest possible audience. The book begins with the Union defeat at Fredericksburg and ends with the final surrender. These were the bitterest years of the war, years of grim and relentless campaigns, of complicated and accelerated change. Catton has relied almost exclusively on an overwhelming number of primary sources, some of which are used for the first time. The main events are well known, but Catton's deep probing and careful investigation allow new shadings to old interpretations.

He is at his best when analyzing strategy, detailing the movements of men in battle, and summarizing the capabilities and shortcomings of Lincoln and Davis. Lincoln's determination and vision sustained the northern war effort, while Davis was never able to enlarge that of the South. Lincoln's use of the Union's vast resources is contrasted sharply with Davis' struggle for economic stability in a hopelessly underdeveloped country.

Despite the South's efforts on the battlefield, the reader discerns that the Confederacy was entrapped in a sort of war it could not win. One of the world's least industrialized countries was failing to maintain that delicate balance between industry and the military. The South could field an adequate army or it could support its army adequately, but, with its extremely limited resources, it could not hope to do both. The winter of 1862-1863 portended ultimate disaster, but such warnings did no good as disaster was inescapable. Catton stresses that the war might have ended in July 1863, but instead it made almost a new beginning. Because it did not end, it cut more deeply than ever before, pushing new forces to the surface. Out of these complexities the most obvious was the acceleration of change. The struggle had assumed a hard logic of its own. For the North it had first been a war to restore the Union, then one to destroy slavery, and, in July 1863, it became a war to establish the equality of all classes of men.

Chickamauga marked the appearance of the Confederacy's last great opportunity. For the last time east of the Mississippi River southerners were able to engage a foe who made war without coordination. Never again after Rosecrans' defeat did any major northern army operate independently as if isolated from Federal units and without the logic of the over-all military situation. Never again could a southern general east of the Mississippi hope to destroy the opposing enemy. By 1864 the number of men exempt and on detail in the Confederacy made it impossible to enlarge the armies. It was impossible to feed and clothe the armies adequately because not enough men remained to operate the plants and

mills. From the beginning southerners had too much to do and not enough to do it with.

This book is illumined with glints of humor and filled with incident and anecdote, irony and absurdity, courage and stupidity. Catton is to be congratulated for tying together so much useful information into a readable, informative, and wise book.

Whittier College

JAMES M. MERRILL

OCCUPIED CITY: NEW ORLEANS UNDER THE FEDERALS, 1862-1865.

By Gerald M. Capers. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 248. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR Capers has once again given evidence of his skill in dealing with long-standing controversies. As he addressed himself in the past to the disputed contributions of John C. Calhoun and Stephen A. Douglas, so he has now turned his attention to a subject different in nature but similar in emotional impact: the Federal occupation of New Orleans during the Civil War.

To what extent was the city's wartime fate responsible for its relative decline in later years? How much did it suffer because of the conquest, and to what degree did Union authorities achieve their objectives? These are some of the questions the author has attempted to answer in *Occupied City*.

Capers' conclusions are unequivocal. Dismissing the old myths of southern suffering as understandable from a psychological point of view but fundamentally untrue, he has demonstrated that the relative failure of New Orleans to keep pace with other cities had nothing to do with the Civil War and Reconstruction. Developments evident before 1861—the decline of the importance of river transportation and the increasing dependence of interior cities upon railroads—had already affected the city's growth prior to secession. Nor did the conquered population suffer unduly during the war. Overcome without much of a battle, the occupants lived through a depression between 1861 and 1863, but then benefited by the economic recovery of the city at the very time when other southerners, still within Confederate lines, were increasingly hard hit. Union rule was not particularly unreasonable; even the much-maligned Ben Butler gave the city a fairly efficient administration. If corruption flourished during the war, it had done so before and was to continue afterward.

In emphasizing these points, the author would seem to be on safe ground. The Butler regime has been treated in detail in three modern biographies, all of which sustain Capers' point of view. Other monographs and contemporary sources also tend to substantiate his conclusions. If the result is a book that is not particularly surprising, the time has nevertheless arrived for a summary of the extant works on New Orleans during the Civil War. This is a task the author has done well, especially in his treatment of economic affairs.

The book's shortcomings are minor. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the author has seen fit to include both a chronological and a topical section, an arrangement that leads to a certain amount of repetition. And while he has sought to maintain objectivity, it might have been better had he used David Donald's revised edition of J. G. Randall's *The Civil War and Reconstruction* instead of

the original. He might not then have taken such a dim view of congressional legislation, the role of the Negro, and the shortcomings of Reconstruction. While this book does not deal with a subject as important as those treated in Capers' previous works, it will be enjoyed by many who are interested in the problems of military government and local history.

Brooklyn College

HANS L. TREFOUSSE

RED CLOUD AND THE SIOUX PROBLEM. By *James C. Olson*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 375. \$5.95.)

JAMES Olson has made a significant contribution to Sioux history with this work. Generously acknowledging his indebtedness to George E. Hyde, with whose *Red Cloud's Folk* (1937) it invites comparison, Olson presents his study as "a supplement to Hyde's work rather than as an effort to revise it." Hyde's book was pungent, fluent, and opinionated, making frequent use of Indian recollections. Olson has written from a more distant perspective, making greater use of the official records in the National Archives, of personal records in such depositories as that of the Nebraska Historical Society of which he was formerly director, and of unpublished dissertations, newspapers, and similar sources. While writing more cautiously and more self-effacingly than Hyde, he does so with no less clarity, and in numerous instances offers different interpretations of particular events.

Olson's story begins with the outbreak of Indian troubles in the Platte Valley during the Civil War and traces the story of the remarkable Oglala Sioux leader, Red Cloud, through every stage of his pertinacious effort to retain the respect and confidence of his people while accommodating himself and them to the growing power of an unsympathetic white government ceaselessly encroaching upon his land. Diplomats in training would find the story of US negotiations with Red Cloud a useful preparation for present-day negotiations with Communist powers. It was not only the particular subject matter (roads through his country, sale of the Black Hills, location of Indian agencies) that was a matter for Red Cloud's maneuvers. The time of the meetings (he frequently kept commissioners cooling their heels for days before he came in), the place of meeting (Red Cloud achieved frequent summit conferences with the Great Father—the President—in Washington), indeed, every point that was negotiable was negotiated by the old Oglala. The end was inevitable and undramatic. Red Cloud's career terminated not in dramatic violence, but, as Olson points out, in a government file, with his appeal to be permitted to go to Washington following the ghost dance troubles and the Battle of Wounded Knee (1890) ignored. But perhaps it is enough to say that if he and his people did not prevail, they did endure.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. By *Laurence R. Veysey*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 505. \$10.00.)

THIS volume describes and evaluates the emergence of the American university in the period between 1865 and 1910. The preface is a beautiful essay in its own

right, and it could well stand as a review of the book. Veysey makes skillful and extensive use of secondary and original sources. He sets forth events and ideas and weaves them together in a masterful manner; he does not hesitate to enter the fray with his own judgments. He writes exceptionally well. Both the reader who knows little of the history of American higher education and the one who has made the subject a specialty will enjoy and profit from reading the book.

In Part One the author examines rival concepts of higher education: mental discipline, religious orthodoxy, vocational education, preparation for life in a democracy, the search for scientific truth, and the development of the well-rounded person. He shows not only that there was competition among these, but also that there were serious differences as to what each meant. Part Two is devoted largely to the development of structure and administration in higher education after 1890. Here he tells of the popularization of higher education, the differences in purpose between faculty and students, the rise of the career administrators and the rivalries among them, the influence of business enterprise both through its organization and its finance, and the concept of academic freedom.

There is vigorous and pungent criticism of both persons and institutions. Failings of Gilman and Eliot, Butler and Jordan are exposed to view. The qualities that made the Johns Hopkins a model for American graduate schools are described with respect, but they did not perpetuate themselves: "in their purest forms they instead produced only a magic moment." Clark "became a decided failure by all external standards." Other persons and institutions are treated with similar candor.

It would be easy to gather an extensive list of aphorisms from Veysey's writing; a few are quoted here. "Nothing was ever admitted to be irreconcilable with anything else." "The undergraduates could not be distracted by any voluntary means from their primary loyalty to college life as distinguished from university education." "Institutions may be said to function like magnets, attracting the ambitions of men." "Tacitly obeying the need to fail to communicate, each academic group normally refrained from too rude or brutal an unmasking of the rest." "It is difficult to write a history, or even a sociology, of silence." "Magicians who lack self-confidence, from whatever motive, invite disrespect from onlookers." "The American university was not created for those who took ideal goals with deadly earnestness."

It should not be thought, from these remarks, that the book is negative. Those who are unappreciative of the extensive roots of the American university and the intense struggles that brought them into existence as well as those who tend to look back on a golden age that did not exist may improve their perspective by reading this excellent book. Seldom does a doctoral dissertation result in so useful a volume.

Duke University

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT

NEGRO MECCA: A HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN NEW YORK CITY, 1865-1920. By *Seth M. Scheiner*. ([New York:] New York University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 246. \$6.50.)

IN this valuable monograph Mr. Scheiner attempts "an exhaustive examination of the social, economic, and political life of the Negro of New York City" by

"studying the institutions and thought of the Negro community as well as the relations between Negroes and whites." *Negro Mecca* treats several aspects of urban life: housing, employment, labor-capital relations, social structure and cultural endeavors, and the areas of conflict and cooperation between the Negro and what the author calls "the wider community." The organization of the study and the sources used are those expected in an urban history. Scheiner's style is generally clear, the range of source material examined is impressive, and the data consulted are synthesized into meaningful generalizations. This book is, indeed, unique; there is no comparable study of the history of the Negro community in a metropolitan area that has been published. The life of the Negro in the city has, of course, been studied by a vast array of social scientists, but the historical background of their treatises, when present, is limited.

It is impossible here to summarize all Scheiner's conclusions, but here are some seminal ones: a widespread Negro prejudice against Jews and Irish-Americans existed; the Negro church failed as a charitable institution; white reformers of progressive stripe were from no single economic or social stratum or ethnic background; many reform organizations were unable "to develop a dialogue with the Negro world." Above all, the work suggests that the outlook of the Negro of New York City was identical on most issues to that of his white contemporary: distrust of urban life, hope in the social gospel, patriotism during the First World War, disenchantment with socialism and Communism, ethnic and religious prejudice. Negro political organizations and benevolent societies had the same goals and structures as those of the white world. Only toward the end of the period did disruptive movements appear: the Garvey crusade and, to a lesser extent, the "New Negro" movement in the arts.

Scheiner, unlike many in the field of Negro history, writes not as a partisan but as a historian. One of the book's strongest points, in fact, is the tentativeness of the author's judgments about specific pieces of his evidence as well as about the larger forces of which he writes so well. We need similar studies of other Negro communities in all geographic sections.

Knox College

GORDON B. DODDS

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR., 1835-1915: THE PATRICIAN AT BAY.

By *Edward Chase Kirkland*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 256. \$5.95.)

THIS is the first comprehensive biography of the least known of the famous brothers of the fourth generation of America's most illustrious family. Professor Kirkland here presents a thorough account of the multifarious, impressive activities of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., first as an officer in the Union Army in the Civil War, and then as a businessman, reformer, and historian. Adams' works in history are still considered outstanding, especially those on colonial Massachusetts. Since he is best known as the American authority on railroads during the last third of the nineteenth century, his biographer properly devoted a large part of the book to his work as a railroad reformer beginning in 1869 and as president of the Union Pacific Railroad from 1883 to 1890.

Adams' place in American history stems from two events in 1869. In that year

he wrote his most famous work, the essay in high finance, "A Chapter on Erie," which, as Kirkland states, was a far-reaching "exposé of the [New York] stock exchange, and of corrupt government as much as it was of the railroads." Second, the Massachusetts legislature passed a bill creating a three-man railroad commission. Adams designed the bill and served first as a member and later as chairman of the commission. As he desired, it had advisory rather than compulsory regulatory powers, but, through its powers to investigate accidents and to set up uniform accounts for the railroads, it introduced novel procedures that were developed as effective instruments for compulsory regulation by other state commissions and finally by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is well known that Adams was one of the first to give a systematic account of the failure of competition to work beneficently in such "natural monopoly" industries as railroads and other public utilities, but it is not so well known that as early as 1878 he outlined for the railroads an advanced program for improvement of industrial relations that included provisions for increases of wages based on length of service, protection against arbitrary discharge, and a social security scheme which, to use his words in his more developed plan of 1889, would provide through joint contributions "for hospital service, retiring provisions, sick pensions, and insurance against accident and death."

By his lucid account of Adams' activities not only in railroads but also in such areas as education, recreation facilities, and currency, Kirkland has contributed notably to the growing appreciation of the post-Civil War era as the seedbed of modern American reform.

Columbia University

JOSEPH DORFMAN

A CENTURY OF LUTHERANS IN OHIO. By *Willard D. Allbeck*. ([Yellow Springs, Ohio:] Antioch Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 309. \$6.00.)

THIS book is a result of exhaustive research in the official proceedings of synods and conferences, the files of Lutheran Church publications, English and German, and widely scattered parish records, important sources of local history.

The Lutheran Church was an immigrant church, transplanted to the Ohio frontier by Germans who believed that the doctrines of their church could best be expressed in their mother tongue. Here conservative Lutheranism came in contact with the revivalism of the frontier. Dr. Allbeck describes the hardships encountered by the "traveling preachers" of the Lutheran faith and the varied activities and experiences of the Ohio Synod and its competitors. Tensions developed over revivalism and predestination, the Augsburg Confession, the Communion service and other religious practices, membership in secret societies like the Masons and the Odd Fellows, and the efforts to preserve the German language against pressures from the "American party." The result of these tensions was a proliferation of synods, districts, and conferences, which engaged in doctrinal and jurisdictional disputes and invaded each other's territory as the several groups recruited new members for their congregations.

The Lutheran Church, as such, had relatively little interest in the emerging social gospel and believed that the major concern of its preachers should be to

preach the Gospel, administer the sacraments, and combat the "poisonous shafts" of rationalism and materialism. Slavery was regarded as a sin, like theft and adultery; the temperance crusade presented a problem for some of the German churches, and World War I was considered a chastisement of God.

Allbeck's narrative abounds with the names of pastors and churches and unnecessarily long quotations from the proceedings of the synods. These matters will be of primary interest to Lutheran readers. The controversy about German as the official language of the Ohio Synod continued into the present century, with German losing out to the pressures of Americanization. This book is based on painstaking research in a variety of sources. It is regrettable that the author's scholarly findings are not presented in a more interesting style.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITTKE

HISTORY OF WYOMING. By *T. A. Larson*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 619. \$6.95.)

THERE should be, but there is not, a readable and reliable history of each of our fifty states. Professor Larson's book admirably provides such a history for the state of Wyoming. Except for two brief introductory chapters, he has excluded from consideration the period before 1867. For the century extending from the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, however, and the consequent formation of the Wyoming Territory, to the present, he has furnished a free-flowing narrative accompanied by a running analytical commentary. The result will interest those within the state and inform those outside it.

The author is most effective in dealing with state politics, especially in connection with the careers of Joseph M. Carey, Francis E. Warren, and Joseph B. Kendrick, all of whom were both governors and senators and none of whom have been the subject of a good biography. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney's career is also well presented, although he is not accorded a place with the others as one of Wyoming's "grand old men." Social and economic history are given comprehensive coverage, and quotations from plain-spoken Wyoming editors, of whom Bill Nye is the most familiar, enliven many pages.

Larson is dependent, of course, upon many secondary sources, but, in many cases, he has studied primary sources in order to test the conclusions of others. He concludes, for example, that Colonel William Bright did more than Mrs. Esther Morris to achieve woman suffrage in Wyoming Territory. A well-balanced account of the Johnson County War results in the conclusion that the big cattlemen should have exercised more restraint and stayed within the law. Federal land grants to railroads are viewed as necessary and, therefore, justifiable, despite admitted defects in the working of the law.

The history of Yellowstone Park, the author states, has been slighted somewhat. I would have placed the history of Indian reservations and of the Teapot Dome scandal in this category as well. Although the economic importance of tourism and of recreation is stressed, the opportunity to present the history of mountaineering in the Tetons is overlooked.

There are a good bibliography, an adequate index, and a fine pictorial section.

Though such delightful place names as Tensleep and Meteetse appear, local and antiquarian matters are rigorously excluded. The focus is on the state and its people, but no attempt is made to show that they are either unique or unusually typical. All in all, the book is an excellent model of what a state history should be.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

THE RIGHT TO VOTE: POLITICS AND THE PASSAGE OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT. By *William Gillette*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXIII (1965), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965. Pp. 181. \$4.50.)

THOUGH the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution in 1870, it was not until 1909 that the first scholarly study of it appeared: John Mabry Mathews' *Legislative and Judicial History of the Fifteenth Amendment*, which remained, until Professor Gillette's book, the only work on the subject. According to Mathews the primary objective of the Fifteenth Amendment was to guarantee Negro suffrage in the South by law, and this became the accepted view of the amendment.

Gillette revises this view. His thesis is that the main objective of the Fifteenth Amendment was to enfranchise the northern Negro and not to keep Negro suffrage in the South, which was a secondary objective. The Republicans wanted, and needed, Negro voters to keep the North Republican, and during the nineteenth century the practical effect of the amendment was to bring the ballot to the northern Negro and power to the Republicans.

Gillette also contends that the Fifteenth Amendment was not radical in design, intent, or result. Rather it was a moderate and modest measure "framed, championed, and secured by generally Republican moderates." It offered too little to southern Republicans, who wanted greater protection of Negro voting and a mild guarantee of Negro officeholding. It offered even less to the veteran antislavery northern Republicans who sought, in addition to firmer guarantees for southern Negroes, general suffrage reform and even national control of suffrage. On the other hand, for Democrats who feared the Republican Negro vote both in the North and the South and disliked federal interference in state and local elections the amendment was too strong, as it was for restrictionist Republicans from the Pacific and Atlantic seaboard, who worried about Chinese or Irish voters. Though the ratification fight on the amendment took only thirteen months, it was hard and the outcome uncertain.

Gillette's book is well researched and well written, especially on the ratification fight. The book is based on a variety of sources including manuscripts, documents, newspapers, congressional and state legislative debates, and monographs, but the largest and most valuable source the author tapped was 172 newspapers from 36 states. Informative for both the specialist and general reader, it is a most welcome book because of being the first on the subject in fifty-six years and because of the growing importance of the political power of both northern and southern Negroes in the mid-twentieth century. Gillette has written an excellent book, and he is to be commended for it. But I do not believe the evidence he pre-

sents for revising the Fifteenth Amendment is overwhelming or entirely convincing.

University of Notre Dame

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS

THE LIFE OF JOHN LANCASTER SPALDING: FIRST BISHOP OF PEORIA, 1840-1916. By *David Francis Sweeney, O.F.M.* [Makers of American Catholicism, Volume I.] ([New York:] Herder and Herder. 1965. Pp. 384. \$7.50.)

To his contemporaries in and out of the Church Spalding was something of an enigma. A successful diocesan administrator, a celebrated orator and author of more than a dozen books of essays and poetry, and a member of President Roosevelt's Anthracite Coal Commission, he seemed always on the verge of becoming more of a leader of American Catholicism than he ever managed to be. This careful study, handicapped though it is by the dearth of "Spalding papers," provides some clues to the generally abortive character of the bishop's many roles. In an era when the American hierarchy was torn by ethnic hostilities, Spalding publicly espoused both the right of the "Germans" to retain their own culture and the zeal of the "Irish" to embrace American culture, without winning the unqualified affection or support of either party. In a time when many parish priests were appealing to Rome for support against their bishops, Spalding was unusually blunt in condemning any notion of "democracy" in the Church; he was also outspoken in opposing the sending of a papal delegate to America, refusing to restrain his criticism even after the mission was a settled fact. His Neo-Emersonian writings, which Father Sweeney pretty much dismisses as lacking in discipline, could have won him little praise in a "Church of the immigrants" and in fact earned him a reputation for ontologism among conservative Catholic theologians, especially in the Roman *Curia*. Finally, although a builder of schools, churches, and convents, he apparently was, to put it charitably, careless about the use of contributions; Sweeney shows that the bishop was denied promotion in his later years because of the fear that ancient scandals would be publicized.

The author's purpose is not to muckrake or to debunk, any more than it is cheaply to glorify. Because his subject had courage and style as well as intelligence, imagination, and pride, the biography is consistently interesting. Sweeney makes explicable, in other words, why subsequent generations of American Catholics have been able to "hear" Spalding more clearly than his own. If he wavered in his support of the Catholic University of America, he spoke out consistently and unequivocally for intellectual independence as the only alternative to being "immured in a spiritual ghetto." As Monsignor John Tracy Ellis points out in his perceptive foreword, "disciples of the current *aggiornamento* at work within the Church" find much to echo in the statements of Spalding.

Columbia University

ROBERT D. CROSS

POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, UNITED STATES, 1870-1950. Volume III, DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSES AND INTERRELATIONS. By *Hope T. Eldridge* and *Dorothy Swaine Thomas*. With an introduction by *Simon Kuznets*. [Memoirs of the American

Philosophical Society, Volume LXI.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1964. Pp. xxxv, 368. \$6.00.)

Of the demographic processes that contribute to the development of urban industrial systems, none is more crucial than migration—the focus of this third and final volume in the University of Pennsylvania's monumental study of population redistribution and economic growth. While the balance of births over deaths governs the rate of a country's total population growth (immigration apart), it is internal migration that mediates the shift to industrial organization which characterizes high-income economies. This fact has great significance for American social history. Thus, if we rule out internal migration and immigration after 1870, actual changes in the size and industrial structure of the labor force would have required a differential annual rate of natural increase between agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the population in the ratio of 1.0:2.2 per cent in the years 1870–1910 and *minus* 1.5:2.0 per cent in the years 1910–1950! Historically, of course, the reverse was true. Throughout most of the period rates of natural increase were much higher in the agricultural than the nonagricultural sector which was increasingly concentrated in urban areas. Consequently, there was what Simon Kuznets calls “a conflict” between the differential rate of rural and urban labor force increase and the rate and locus of growth in economic opportunities. This conflict—perhaps “contradiction” might be a better word—“only magnified the requirements for internal migration generated by shifts in industrial structure.”

In Part One, Hope T. Eldridge draws upon the estimates of Volume I to provide detailed demographic analyses of population increase, net migration, urban growth, and redistribution. Although her concepts and measures are technical, the results are, for the most part, clear and definitive. Natural increase exceeded net in-migration (the balance of state gains over losses of migrants) in every decade 1870–1950, but before 1910 supplementary gains from migration were chiefly from the foreign-born in the northeastern and north central states and from native-born west of the Mississippi. Only after 1910 did the East experience appreciable net gains from native migrants among whom were growing numbers of Negroes. Streams of Negro migration, however, represented a one-way movement, first to northeastern and central states, than veering west after 1940. In contrast, by the 1940's the exodus of southern whites to the North was balanced by movements of northern whites into the South. Such differences reflect an intensification of the Negro's “flight from the South,” which was only briefly interrupted by the depression of the 1930's. The age distribution of these intercensal rates of displacement, on the other hand, was regular for all three census race-nativity groups. Eldridge concludes that redistribution of population has been “a cohesive process” and infers that both dispersion and urbanization have been “essential to the development of a single integrated economic and social system occupying the available territory.”

In Part Two, Dorothy S. Thomas presents a searching analysis of temporal and spatial relations between population redistribution and economic opportunities. She finds that net migration to, and within, the United States since 1880 “responded positively and significantly to decadal swings in economic activity,” rising

in prosperity and subsiding in depression. Spatially, net intercensal migration of the three race-nativity groups was positively associated with relative subregional service (that is, nonproperty) income per worker, although more so for the foreign-born before World War I and for Negroes thereafter than for native whites at any time. Indeed, before 1890 and again after 1940, native whites moved disproportionately to certain areas irrespective of income differentials.

Kuznets' introduction underscores once again the socioeconomic significance of urbanization, but the entire study serves to remind historians that westward movement, immigration, and urbanization can be treated as three interrelated aspects of a single process: migration. Together, these three volumes must rank among the major interdisciplinary studies of the postwar period.

University of Wisconsin

ERIC E. LAMPARD

THE UNITED STATES AND THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM: A POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Merze Tate*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 374. \$8.50.)

THE Hawaiian Kingdom of the nineteenth century was a small nation, but its relations with the Great Powers endowed its history with an interest out of proportion to its size. It is a well-documented history, and at this late date scholars are not likely to uncover new materials that will modify our knowledge of events. Its history is, however, open to many interpretations, and in this work Dr. Tate presents a new analysis of the movement that culminated in the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and annexation in 1898.

The book is aptly subtitled, *A Political History*. The early chapters deal primarily with the course of Hawaiian politics, particularly during the crucial years 1880-1893. The later chapters, constituting more than one-third of the book, are concerned almost exclusively with the impact of the Hawaiian question upon politics in the United States from 1893 to 1898. At times Tate is retracing ground already carefully explored in the scholarly works of William A. Russ, and her principal contribution is in the sections that trace the incredibly complicated course of Hawaiian politics during the reign of Kalakaua.

In a summary chapter the author notes that her book could be described as "An Economic Interpretation of the Hawaiian Revolution." Her central theme is a power struggle between two stubborn and ill-matched groups: the minority of foreigners, who owned most of the wealth of the islands; and the King and his advisers, who toyed with proposals which they alleged would benefit the less affluent Hawaiians, but which the opposition denounced as costly, reckless, and even immoral. Unable to win a stable victory in Hawaii, this opposition concluded sometime after 1890 that the security of their interests could be assured only by annexation.

Other scholars have already offered analyses of the same events, and it is unlikely that Tate will be the last scholar to study Hawaiian politics or offer a novel interpretation. She bases her conclusions on extensive research in archival materials in Washington and Honolulu, and she offers an explanation of Hawaiian politics that future scholars cannot ignore. Though she may not have written the

last word on the subject, she has placed all students of Hawaiian history and American foreign policy in her debt.

Vanderbilt University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

HARLEM: THE MAKING OF A GHETTO. NEGRO NEW YORK, 1890-1930. By *Gilbert Osofsky*. (New York: Harper and Row. [1966.] Pp. xi, 259. \$6.95.)

It is too early to say how the civil rights movement will ultimately affect the writing of American Negro history. Already, though, several scholars within the past ten years have taken important new looks at the long Negro experience in this country. Sooner or later, given the present climate of concern, someone was bound to attempt a history of what, a quarter of a century ago, Claude McKay called the "Negro Capital of the Nation."

Gilbert Osofsky's book, originally prepared as a Ph.D. thesis, contains much information about Negro life in New York City from 1890 to 1930. Equally important, Osofsky asks questions that really matter and writes with the vigor and clarity of a man who knows precisely what he wants to say. The result—interesting narrative combined with provocative analysis of an important subject—proves again that the Ph.D. thesis need not be a dull rendering of trivia.

Unlike Seth Scheiner's recently published doctoral dissertation, which covers roughly the same ground, Osofsky organizes his account in periods instead of abstract categories. He first re-creates nineteenth-century Negro life in the Five Points and Greenwich Village, and then as it came to be centered by 1900 in the Tenderloin and San Juan Hill, before turning to those parts of Harlem that Negroes entered before World War I, but filled up in the fifteen years preceding the Great Depression. Through that kind of narrative the reader acquires a sense of continuity and a historical perspective from which to see the emergence of Harlem as a slum in the 1920's.

But perhaps the major reason for this book's success is that it focuses on a single place. Place is crucial in social history, for only in the local setting can one revive in their fullness and depth what things were really like. Through Osofsky's magnifying glass we see in rich detail the process by which the well-to-do area north of Central Park became a slum and, to cite still another example, the considerable extent to which the progressive movement in Theodore Roosevelt's city promoted the advancement of Negroes. The reader finishes this book with a concrete grasp, furthermore, of the meaning of housing, jobs, religion, family life, education, recreation, and politics for masses of people who fled the rural South and the West Indies to resettle in the big city.

With regard to the relations of Negroes to others, however, misplaced piety and loose rhetoric flaw an otherwise impressive achievement. Thus, writing throughout in a tone that suggests that Negroes *always* have been worse off than all other New Yorkers, Osofsky misses the significance of his own evidence that, before and after the Civil War, Negroes abandoned neighborhoods to Irish and Italian immigrants on the whole poorer than they. Again, in his indignation over the 1900 race riot, Osofsky, although well aware of the special role of the Irish in it, nevertheless refers to the existence of a "white community." No such com-

munity existed, as Oscar Handlin, Nathan Glazer, and Daniel P. Moynihan have convincingly documented in their histories of ethnic pluralism in New York City.

Apart from wronging the past, the invention of a mythological white monolith in northern big cities deprives the civil rights movement of a historical understanding it is meant to provide. For the fuller pluralist setting of Negro life in New York City, one must therefore read Handlin, Moynihan, and Glazer. The point needs to be emphasized because in his otherwise useful bibliographical essay Osofsky dismisses their work without mention.

Smith College

ARTHUR MANN

THE AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE: A BRIEF HISTORY. By *John B. Rae*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 265. \$5.95.)

DURING the last generation much historical writing on the American automotive industry has appeared in scattered form. It includes the biographies of pioneers, memoirs by leaders in the industry, histories of companies, studies of engineering and marketing, financial histories, and analyses of labor relations and the impact of the automobile on society. General histories of the industry have been few and sketchy. The gap has now been filled, however, by Dr. Rae in a volume at once concise, authoritative, and readable.

He has compressed into a moderate-sized book a record covering the multifarious developments from 1893, when the Duryea brothers sent their one-cylinder carriage clattering over the streets of Springfield, Massachusetts, to our own day of colossal production. His rapid narrative does justice to all the main aspects of the astonishing change. He notes the "historical mystery" bound up in the fact that after the German inventions of Otto, Benz, and Daimler the Americans waited about ten years to reinvent the automobile for themselves. He analyzes the reasons for the triumph of the gasoline motor over the steam-propelled vehicle, the relation of the bicycle trade to the new cars, the extent to which the Model T really put America on wheels, the growing pains of the industry as the four-wheel drive, "silent knight" engine, and electric starter pushed it ahead of the European manufacturers, and its most epochal feat, its really revolutionary triumph when Henry Ford's Highland Park plant gave birth to the complex procedures of mass production and thus altered the world. He shows that in the early history of the industry the chief difficulty was in producing enough good cars to meet the insatiable demand; that in the decade of the Great Depression the main difficulty lay in selling enough cars to keep the stronger companies alive; and that in more recent years the problem has been to gear the industry to the march of research, to such dramatic shifts in taste as the advent of the compacts, and to the demands of governments faced by urban congestion, traffic maladies, and the thrust of metropolis into suburbia. The author explains the elimination of company after company until three giant corporations dominate the field.

All this and more appear in the book. Rae does not fail to glance at such important subjects as the partnership of the rubber and petroleum empires with the automotive industry. He does swift justice to the part the industry played in help-

ing the United States and its Allies sustain themselves under ordeal; a part valuable in the First World War, invaluable in the Second. The book is a model of condensed and comprehensive history. Its only important fault is that it is a bit too brief.

Huntington Library

ALLAN NEVINS

THE GREAT WHITE FLEET: ITS VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD, 1907-1909. By *Robert A. Hart*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. xvi, 362. \$6.95.)

HISTORIANS have long suspected that there was more braggadocio than truth in Theodore Roosevelt's contention that the cruise of "The Great White Fleet" around the world in 1907-1909 was "the most important service to peace that I rendered." Bailey concluded that it "stimulated navalism in Japan and elsewhere." Beale believed that it strengthened the pronaval and anti-American elements in Japan. Braisted suggested that "a powerful American fleet defending the Philippines was potentially . . . threatening to Japan." And others have questioned the world voyage on a variety of counts. Now Robert A. Hart has published a sprightly account of the cruise that confirms and amplifies these views and touches several new issues.

Hart's story is as disillusioning as it is enlightening and entertaining. It reveals Roosevelt as the capricious, romantic man he sometimes was. It indicates that "managed news" is not an especially recent development. It describes a serio-comic battle between a host of American sailors and Brazilian civilians in Rio. It reports that in Melbourne alone 221 men deserted the fleet. And it recounts to the point of tedium the grave deficiencies and burning jealousies of the fleet's commanders to say nothing of their rivalries with American diplomats at ports of call. More important, it proves that the cruise failed in its primary mission: the flaunting of American naval power. For, as Hart convincingly shows, the fleet was so outmoded and its suppliers so inadequate that there was little power to flaunt. Thus, three weeks after the sixteen American battleships lumbered out of Tokyo Bay, the Japanese staged their own display off Kobe, where, "A parade line of one hundred and twenty-three warships, twenty miles long, provided a meaningful contrast for the Japanese people."

Hart's clear, crisp style and unfailing eye for human interest make this admirable social history. The book is less successful, however, as diplomatic history. To be sure, the State Department files have been deeply and perceptively explored, as have many foreign monographs and memoirs. But there is a tendency at times to use innuendo, to give equal weight to statements by newspapermen, diplomats, and historians, and to draw conclusions unsupported by multiarchival research. Yet to make these criticisms is not to deny the importance or essential validity of this eminently readable book. Hart has opened several matters, including the cruise's impact on Sino-American relations, for future research. And he has convinced me, at least, that TR's decision to dispatch the fleet around the world was one of the more egregious blunders of his presidency.

Bucknell University

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

WILSON: CAMPAIGNS FOR PROGRESSIVISM AND PEACE, 1916-1917.

By *Arthur S. Link*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 464. \$8.50.)

THIS fifth volume of Professor Link's superb life of Woodrow Wilson is devoted mainly to the campaign of 1916 and to the President's persistent efforts to bring about a negotiated European peace. It ends with the bankruptcy of Wilson's peace policy and his fateful war message of April 2, 1917.

As indicated by his subtitle, the book seeks to refute the existing assumption that Wilson's commitment to progressivism waned rapidly after 1914. In discussing the 1916 election Link comments on the President's "rapid movement toward the incipient welfare state. . . ." If some questions may be asked about this judgment, few if any can fairly be raised about the second major underlying theme of the author: that Woodrow Wilson conscientiously and consistently sought both to end the European war and keep America neutral. As Link amply demonstrates, even in January 1917 the President was still adamant in his belief that the United States would not get involved, and as late as March 10, 1917, after the destruction of four American ships by German submarines, he was still seeking a way out, short of hostilities.

About two-thirds of this volume is spent on the period from November 1916 to April 1917. And nowhere in existing literature is the development of Wilson's European policy during these critical months so richly and so dispassionately explored. Among the many new insights afforded by this impressive volume are the amazing ignorance of the President and his advisers of the truly critical condition of the Western Allies, Wilson's awareness of Secretary of State Lansing's attempts to "sabotage" his peace policy, and the President's debate with himself whether to ask for Lansing's resignation.

The major point that the 1916-1917 foreign policy was Wilson's and not that of his advisers is made abundantly clear. Link shows the President relying almost entirely upon his own judgments to an amazing degree, differing completely at times even with Colonel House. When the decision for war was made, the President refused to disclose it for a week and then proceeded to write his own war message without seeking advice or help. Apparently, according to Link, Wilson refused to show his message to anyone, although he did read it to House a few hours before it was delivered, and, upon the colonel's intercession, changed a minor phrase.

Perhaps of paramount interest is the thoughtful discussion of why Wilson elected to go to war and give up his policy of "armed neutrality" before, as the author comments, it had really been tried. Link rejects many reasons hitherto accepted as among the more important propelling the President toward hostilities. Among these were the fear that a German victory would imperil the future of the US, the assumption that the Allied cause was a far more worthy one than that of Germany, and finally pressure from the financial community and the general public. All of these, the author firmly states, were not significant factors. About the more positive motivations for the great decision the author freely admits he is far less certain. Among the most impelling factors were the unanimous advice of his cabinet, a consensus in March 1917 that included the voices of

several members who had hitherto been stoutly opposed to intervention, Wilson's loss of confidence in the German government after the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare, his assumption that if the United States retreated from this threat it would lose any influence it might have had in the reordering of world affairs, and, finally and perhaps most importantly, his conclusion that American belligerency "offered the surest hope for early peace and the reconstruction of the international community."

The amplitude of research upon which this volume rests is almost incredible. The official British and French records are still closed. But the author has consulted practically every other type of source on both sides of the Atlantic. Eleven German, ten British, and eight French newspapers are cited, for example, and the long list of manuscripts used is an index of what is available. This is informed, intelligent, cautious, and critical history, thoroughly suffused with a rare understanding of what can and what cannot be accurately wrung from the records of the past. It is a memorable achievement.

University of California, Los Angeles

GEORGE E. MOWRY

BIOGRAPHY OF AN IDEA: MEMOIRS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL EDWARD L. BERNAYS. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1965. Pp. 849. \$12.95.)

EDWARD L. Bernays, an early practitioner of the art of manipulating public opinion, creator of the phrase, "public relations counsel," and an indefatigable laborer to gain professional status for public relations workers, has written a fascinating account of his life and career. Actually, his career and life became so inextricably bound together that one is not surprised that Bernays titled his volume *Biography of an Idea*. The fascination of the book, however, derives less from his account of the rise of public relations as an adjunct to contemporary business and politics as it operates in a mass society than from the fact that Bernays is an intelligent person who lived a full and interesting life involving associations with a great variety of men, women, and movements. Bernays came to maturity during the progressive era and shared its liberal, dynamic spirit, aspects of which he continued to display in his work and in what might be called his extracurricular activities. This book, while it concentrates on the former, has much in it of the latter, and the reader has the distinct impression of an active and concerned businessman, husband, father, friend, and citizen.

The "idea" in the title, as Bernays treats it, really involves two facets: first, that opinion can be engineered and manipulated scientifically; and, second, that the work of a public relations counsel deserves to rank with law, teaching, medicine, and other professions. Bernays, a nephew of Dr. Sigmund Freud, utilized some of his distinguished uncle's findings as well as those of the new discipline of social psychology in his own work; he sought to understand the mass mind and to stimulate its unconscious processes by direction and indirection. As Ellery Sedgwick put it in a letter quoted by Bernays: "My picture is this: you see life like a billiard table. Direct strokes are barred, and your nimble ball caroms continually off the cushion of circumstances affecting the situation, not at first, but at second hand." Respecting the second facet—that public relations deserves to rank as a

profession—the author argues so persistently and in such a manner that some readers might conclude that “The lady doth protest too much, methinks.” But I presume there is room for debate.

Bernays wrote a number of books and articles on public relations including *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), *Propaganda* (1928), and *Public Relations* (1952). This volume will be particularly useful to the student investigating the rise of public relations and its impact upon business, politics, international affairs, and a host of other relationships. The specialist in Latin American history might find Bernays’ account of his activities in the Caribbean region valuable. Since the author’s work touched so many features of our national life involving leadership, his observations and assessments of men and measures provide helpful new data in coming to terms with many issues having a bearing on twentieth-century American history.

Stanford University

GEORGE HARMON KNOLES

THE NOBLEST CRY: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. By *Charles Lam Markmann*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 464. \$7.95.)

THERE is always room for another castigation of American intolerance and injustice; these traits are too amply demonstrated ever to be fully scourged. But when a work of this sort is subtitled *A History of the American Civil Liberties Union*, it claims a limited and almost vacant territory, and one must ask whether it merits possession or is merely asserting squatter’s rights.

This is a history of an organization, not an organizational history. The ACLU’s structure and finances, internal routines and external dealings, recruitment of members and leaders are of only marginal interest to the author. It may quicken the pace of the study not to dwell on the union’s system of affiliates, which allows it to oversee the entire nation without overburdening its central office; on its socially and intellectually distinguished leadership, which widens its access to officials whom it must convert or else oppose; on its appeal to the values of the legal culture, which permits it to acquire the free assistance of many leading members of the bar. But to neglect these and similar factors is to leave many important things enigmatic, including the obvious discrepancy between the union’s infinitesimal formal membership and its considerable public influence. Perhaps it suits the preconceptions of the author, who believes that liberty is a fugitive in America, not to inquire too deeply into that discrepancy.

To write a history of the ACLU is to write a history of the law of civil liberties, and the author, who is a journalist with legal training, deals extensively with what went on in court. Unfortunately, he takes the perspective of the journalist, not the lawyer. Occasionally, the fantasist gets the better even of the journalist, as when Markmann surmises that the Supreme Court ruled against Jehovah’s Witnesses (apparently in *Jones v. Opelika*) because of the “hyper-sensitivity of Justice Jackson, a devout Catholic, to the Witnesses’ insistence on being frank about the money and power drives of the Vatican”—an interpretation somewhat undermined by the fact that Justice Jackson was a Protestant, not a Catholic; that Justice Murphy, who was a Catholic, dissented; that the decision was soon reversed, despite Justice Jackson; that the issues were complex. No happy purpose is served

by this vulgarization of the judicial process. Nor is the book enhanced by the author's tendency to pass judgment on issues far afield.

The ACLU did not authorize this history, but consented to make its files available to the author at his request. It would not unduly limit free inquiry if the organization were now to choose a chronicler worthy of it, perhaps in time to enrich the celebration of its forthcoming fiftieth anniversary.

Columbia University

WALTER P. METZGER

BILLY MITCHELL: CRUSADER FOR AIR POWER. By *Alfred F. Hurley*. [The Watts Aerospace Library.] (New York: Franklin Watts, 1964. Pp. x, 180. \$5.95.)

BRIGADIER General William Mitchell has been accorded considerable popular attention, but until now he has lacked a scholarly biography. This divergence of popular from historians' interest may well cause reflection. Mitchell was not an original thinker, and it is hard to imagine any major development in the history of the air force that would have been substantially different without him. But the very persistence of popular adulation suggests that historians might explore the reasons for that adulation in order better to understand public attitudes toward military policy.

The writer of this first full-length scholarly study is an air force major who holds a doctorate in history. The reader may decide that the book is the sort of thing that anyone knowing this background would predict. As he proceeds, he is likely to move from feelings of irritation to a growing respect for Hurley's ability to detach himself from his protagonist and to succeed at last in portraying him objectively. The reader will find, too, that the two facets of Hurley's background have given him an excellent command of the sources, including manuscripts and oral history materials, and that he has used them well. The book is good enough to rise above occasional minor errors of fact and more frequent lapses of style.

Hurley gives the events of Mitchell's career a biographer's due, but there are no extended and dramatic reruns of trial scenes or the bombing of the *Ostfriesland* in these pages. Rightly, Hurley is more interested in Mitchell's ideas. He examines them in the light of Mitchell's conversations with such European airmen as Sir Hugh Trenchard and Gianni Caproni and his acquaintance with the theories of Emilio Douhet. He concludes that what Mitchell was saying about air power was mainly the same as other ambitious airmen of his day. Indeed, Mitchell was sometimes less extreme than many of his contemporaries, but even when his ideas were sometimes relatively moderate, Mitchell was incapable of presenting them in a moderate way. He concocted controversy whether it would serve his purposes or not, he impugned the motives of anyone who disagreed with him, and he provoked the court-martial that ended his military career. The prosecution played into his hands by allowing him to drag in the debate over the future of air power, but the court eventually decided against him, as it had to, on the disciplinary charges that were the real issues of the trial. While his publishers and the public grew somewhat tired of him, World War II revived the interest that

has persisted. Hurley's book will have to be read by those who would understand that interest and assess the merits of Mitchell's thought.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

THE POLITICAL CULTURES OF MASSACHUSETTS. By *Edgar Litt*.
(Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965.
Pp. xiv, 224. \$5.95.)

WELL into the 1920's Massachusetts elections were dominated by a Republican coalition representing two of what political scientist Edgar Litt calls the Bay State's political cultures: the "patrician elite" and the "small-town, rural yeoman." Beginning in the late 1920's the supremacy of this coalition was displaced by the political rise of a third culture rooted in the workers and ethnic minorities of the core cities. Most of this ground has been covered previously by historians. But Litt maintains that since the Second World War the Massachusetts political scene has been changed again by the political debut of still a fourth culture emerging out of the "post-industrial society that emphasizes technical, clerical, and professional skills to man the burgeoning scientific, defense, educational, and administrative institutions" that have transformed the older agrarian and industrial economies that gave rise to the first three cultures. The members of this newest element are "the managers, the high-income, professional-technical class of increasingly new-stock heritage," whose inherited tradition is "Democratic, urban, immigrant, blue-collar, and entrepreneurial." But having graduated to the upper-middle-class suburbs, they have become acutely sensitive to such suburban problems as metropolitan planning, community development, transportation, better education, and tax reform. They are, moreover, cosmopolitans who are "issue-oriented," and who thus place high priority on matters affecting civil rights, civil liberties, and national and international affairs. To all their problems and interests the "managerial progressives" are anxious to apply the premises of rationality, efficiency, organization, and *expertise* that they have imbibed in their training and employment in the universities, professional offices, and laboratories that permeate the state's socioeconomic structure. In general their allies are the remnants of the now-mellowed patrician elite. Their antagonists are the old-fashioned core city Democrats who remain steeped in the more ethnic, personalized, localized, decentralized, and provincial political attitudes of a bygone era and who appear to have struck up an alliance with their old enemies, the yeomen, in a final defense of their entrenched political position. Litt's evidence shows, however, that the relative political importance of the core cities has declined drastically since 1945, and the outcome of recent gubernatorial elections indicates the growing strategic influence of the suburban-managerial fourth culture. Time, he concludes, is on its side.

The points summarized above are obscured, unfortunately, in a mire of political science jargon, which suggests that perhaps it is time for historians to get to work on the story of postwar industrial area politics in order to tell it in more comprehensible language. Nevertheless, when they do, they should find Litt's book useful and suggestive.

Rutgers University

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

THE PRESIDENT WORE SPATS: A BIOGRAPHY OF GLENN FRANK.

By *Lawrence H. Larsen*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1965. Pp. ix, 198. \$4.50.)

GLENN Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin from 1925 through 1936, wore spats. He also wore bewilderment caused by being a businessman-president after the brief heyday of that vogue had virtually expired, and, to boot, by serving a liberal state university dominated by the La Follettes. Lawrence Larsen paints Frank's portrait in stronger language, however: "above all he was a promoter, a suave and articulate salesman who was at his best when he had an audience before him. Had he chosen to do so, he could probably have parlayed a vacant lot into a metropolis or a pushcart into a vast corporation. He chose instead to promote an even less promising commodity: a poor boy from a tiny hamlet in northeastern Missouri—himself." Larsen's short, lively biography traces the rise and fall of this boy from Missouri, from his early years as a "boy evangelist," through his work as a student and as an alumni promoter at Northwestern, as an aid to Boston philanthropist Edward A. Filene, as editor of the *Century*, to the presidential chair at Madison. He paints him as a spokesman for a "business-oriented Social Gospel," as a booster in the best Sinclair Lewis tradition. The picture that emerges is that of an academic Elmer Gantry.

One might well question the exuberance of Larsen's demolishing portrait, for behind many of the details of Frank's life the note of bewilderment occurs and reoccurs. He never quite fitted in any role (even the boy evangelist had to grow up). Although he was superficially in the mainstream, perhaps he was really on the edges of Boston society, of the New York intellectual community, and, particularly, of the community at Madison. He tried, unquestionably, to adapt and to shake the image of a booster, and, on at least one instance—the risky appointment of Alexander Meiklejohn and the creation of Experimental College—he ran quite out of his supposed type. But he never fitted, as his spats and his misunderstanding of the academic community attest. Perhaps his last planned career, that of politician, would have been more congenial, but this was snuffed out by an automobile accident late in 1940.

While Larsen's portrait is possibly overdrawn, his sprightly, well-documented biography conveys the liveliness of Frank. Fortunately for much of the present academic community, Frank's manners and maneuvers seem quaint and far away. *Requiescat in pace.*

Harvard University

THEODORE R. SIZER

THE POVERTY OF ABUNDANCE: HOOVER, THE NATION, THE DEPRESSION. By *Albert U. Romasco*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 282. \$6.00.)

DURING the past decade or so we have had a series of volumes of varying quality dealing with some phase of the Hoover administration. Among the better-known are those by Harris G. Warren, *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression*; Murray N. Rothbard, *America's Great Depression*; and John K. Galbraith, *The Great Crash, 1929*. With the exception of Galbraith's well-written and percep-

tive study of the crash, which of course is only a part of the bigger story, these studies fall far short of furnishing us with a definitive account. As a consequence, some have hoped that Albert U. Romasco's *The Poverty of Abundance* would at least fill a major portion of this need.

The theme of the book is hardly a novel one: Hoover tried to do something about the depression, and it is wrong to label him as "a do-nothing President." The author seeks to build up his argument by presenting a brief sketch of Hoover's philosophy and methods, the business leadership of the nation, agriculture, the banking structure, social welfare, unemployment, and, finally, the relations of Hoover with Congress, the press, and other agencies. He also seeks to explain how the leaders of the nation, following the suggestions of the President, managed the economic institutions of the land in the face of the worst economic disaster in history. He characterizes Hoover's program as "a new beginning, and most beginnings tend to be halting, groping, and modest. They tend also to follow closely the pattern of convention. . . ." And who was to blame? Private as well as public leaders—the heads of the economic institutions of the country as well as Hoover. One can hardly take issue with this judgment.

But one can take issue with the author for failing to use some of the excellent secondary sources written by men who had expert knowledge in banking, agriculture, labor, and related fields. It is here that the weaknesses of the book stand out. Romasco is correct in placing some of the blame on the institutional leaders, but he is incorrect in not telling the uninformed something about these institutions, what their strengths and weaknesses were, and why their leadership was unable to respond favorably. His treatment of the banking structure and the problems faced by the bankers contains very little of the wealth of material available on the Federal Reserve System. In agriculture the writings of Joseph S. Davis, Murray Benedict, and E. G. Nourse could have been used to greater advantage. Nor does he display real understanding of the labor movement, its structural weaknesses, and its leadership. Acquaintance with the works of the specialists in these and other areas would have aided Romasco in making a more judicious use of his primary sources, provided him with a more profound understanding of the economic institutions of the country, and helped explain why their leaders were ineffective in responding to the needs of the hour.

We can, however, thank the author for his efforts in a period that merits the attention of more research historians. His book is readable and reflects some painstaking work. Perhaps he is pursuing his studies further and at some future date will furnish us with a good historical analysis of those economic institutions that should have been included in this initial study.

University of California, Los Angeles

THEODORE SALOUTOS

THE FINANCIAL ROLE OF INDIANA IN WORLD WAR II. By *Bernard Friedman*. [Indiana University Social Science Series, Number 23; Indiana in World War II, Volume VII.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 267. \$5.50.)

As depression gave way to wartime boom, Indiana (as the rest of the country) was confronted with an array of new economic adjustments in the 1940's. National

policies to cope with inflation and labor shortages were not readily formulated or accepted.

Friedman succeeds in placing the battles over economic policy within the context of the New Deal and its opposition; often the weapons were perennial issues and slogans. Thus, Hoosier conservatives favored financing defense expenditures through lower income tax exemptions, wider use of sales taxes, and reduced civilian programs, while New Deal partisans were reluctant to restrict consumption levels. According to the author, "wartime taxes played a limited part in checking inflation," so that Indiana's \$1,080 per capita disposable personal income in 1946 was worth only \$713 measured in 1940 purchasing power (still an improvement over the actual 1940 figure of \$540). While such data as real increases in per capita income both during and after the war (a 22 per cent rise between 1945 and 1950) can be significant, much remains to be done in assessing the welfare of specific economic groups, to follow the author's valid theme of "what price war?"

Friedman does not neglect the mobilization of Indiana's industrial capacity, finding that little private capital moved into war production. Consequently, the federal government's assumption of construction costs and various forms of subsidy, as well as the application of rationing, price controls, and payroll savings, gave further evidence to the changing nature of American capitalism. Herein lies the book's major worth: it contributes to the national picture a significant case study of one state's experience with OPA, war loan drives, and the burdens of boom. The method here is primarily narrative and descriptive rather than analytical, somewhat fragmented rather than tightened by a theoretical framework. But this, perhaps, is the basis for some of its virtues: unusually good writing in a monographic publication; interesting anecdotal details (such as the conflict of piety and patriotism causing the demise of "Bond Sunday"), and attention to political as well as economic considerations. A wealth of sources was ably utilized, including newspapers, governmental reports, and business records. It speaks well for the Indiana series.

Paterson State College

JOSEPH BRANDES

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. Volume VI, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7848.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1965. Pp. ix, 869. \$3.25.)

THIS impeccably edited volume concludes the series' coverage on the American republics in 1943. It includes State Department documents dealing with sixteen nations, from Colombia to Venezuela.

Always basic to an understanding of foreign policy, these State Department materials highly illuminate the continuing effects of global war on the inter-American system; they also make clear why historians must look beyond them. Frequent references to the activities of government agencies such as the Board of Economic Warfare, the Defense Supplies Corporation, and the Export-Import Bank are important reminders that in 1943 American foreign policy often represented a continuation of the war by other means.

By 1943 the United States, no longer fearful of an Axis invasion of the New

World, was changing the emphasis of its hemispheric diplomacy. Military cooperation was still desirable, especially with Caribbean countries and Brazil, but other goals now received more attention. Special efforts were made to gain implementation of the 1942 Rio agreements calling for the elimination of financial transactions aiding the Axis. Various proposals sought to increase and to assure Latin America's production of strategic materials. Pooling arrangements for shipping and the supply of oil could be effective, the US maintained, only if Latin America exercised restraint and kept its requests down to peacetime levels.

The Latin American nations dealt with in this volume were generally cooperative, but had their own problems and demands in 1943. They welcomed technical assistance and sought Export-Import Bank loans to assist economic development; some asked for weapons obviously intended to keep domestic order.

Its concern for security in the hemisphere increasingly led the US to move beyond earlier definitions of the Good Neighbor policy. American diplomats cooperated with whatever governments were in power, to be sure, since stability and order were essential. But many experienced policy makers recognized and encouraged the new concerns of inter-American cooperation. Under the aegis of the inter-American system, by 1943 American diplomacy was beginning to move effectively on new terrain as Europe's influence in Latin America receded. After 1945, of course, things were to be different. It is clear, in retrospect, that when the US assumed its responsibilities as a world power on behalf of Western Europe after the war, it also should have continued those begun in cooperation with Latin America during the war.

Williams College

RUSSELL H. BASTERT

ECONOMIC ADVICE AND PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP: THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS. By *Edward S. Flash, Jr.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 382. \$8.95.)

THE burdens and the powers of the President of the United States have led Congress to establish various executive agencies or offices designed to aid the President in the decision-making process. The Bureau of the Budget played a vital role during the New Deal and World War II as a fact-finding and advisory body. But its public image and functions limited the scope of its activities. At the end of World War II widespread fears of a great depression induced Congress to pass the Employment Act of 1946 in an effort to avert such a disaster. This act established the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Economic Committee to give expert economic analysis and counsel to the President and Congress, respectively, so that they might better avoid a prolonged depression and provide for high-level economic growth and stability.

In 1961 a compact and useful study, *The President's Council of Economic Advisers* by E. Ray Canterbury, appeared, but seems to have attracted little notice. It is not even cited in the bibliography of Flash's work. Without doubt, however, Flash began and completed his research independently of Canterbury. He exploited manuscript sources at the Harry S. Truman Library and interviewed key government officials in a manner that Canterbury could not match. His book

focuses on the relationship between expert economic knowledge and the political power wielded by the President; it is a genuine contribution to the study of the presidential decision-making process and is sufficiently broad to illuminate the council's relations with Congress, the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Bureau of the Budget.

Flash examines the contribution made to presidential decision making by the council under three of its chairmen. Leon H. Keyserling served as spokesman and guide of the Truman administration for the expansionist, anti-inflation policies of the Fair Deal and the defensive Korean War mobilization measures of June 1950–December 1951. Arthur F. Burns persuaded Eisenhower and his conservative cabinet to counteract the 1953–1954 recession through tax revision, housing, unemployment insurance, public works, and expansionary fiscal and monetary policies. Walter W. Heller was responsible for winning Kennedy and the Treasury to accept, and eventually get Congress to enact, a program of increased spending and substantial tax reduction designed to combat a recession and to stimulate economic growth.

The historical narrative ends with a brief account of the council's concern with civil rights, the antipoverty program, the Cuban missile crisis, and new guides to wage rates for labor-management negotiations in the period before Kennedy's tragic assassination. Little attention is devoted to Gardner Ackley, who succeeded Heller as chairman of the council in November 1964. Perhaps later Flash should examine the council's role in aiding Johnson to achieve the Great Society while carrying on war in South Vietnam.

The political historian and scientist will regard this study as a scholarly and politically sophisticated volume. The economic historian may regret that some of the economic analysis was not more extended when revolutionary economic proposals of the council were considered.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

DECADE OF FEAR: SENATOR HENNINGS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

By Donald J. Kemper. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 252. \$5.95.)

Books on those United States senators who displayed both outstanding courage and political effectiveness should, henceforth, include a chapter on Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri. In a thorough study of his ten-year senatorial career, Donald J. Kemper reminds us that Hennings "contributed as much as any single public figure to McCarthy's decline in power." Hennings also fought the ubiquitous loyalty oaths and security investigations of the 1950's, and when the Supreme Court issued a series of decisions defending individual rights, he led the congressional defense of the Court. Perhaps because of Hennings' distaste for personal publicity, his role has been overlooked.

Hennings' consistent fight to protect civil liberties was extraordinarily effective because of the respect he quickly won from rather conservative senior senators. Kemper's inadequate explanation of this phenomenon is one of the book's few weaknesses. Two years after he entered the Senate, Hennings obtained posts on the crucial Rules and Judiciary Committees; he was elevated to Democratic floor

leader, to the thirteen-man Steering Committee, and to the powerful Democratic Policy Committee. The importance of the last assignment is conveyed by the names of the other members: Lyndon Johnson, Richard Russell, Earle Clements, Carl Hayden, Lister Hill, Theodore Green, Robert Kerr, and James Murray. Although Hennings could not have been appointed to the Policy Committee without Johnson's sponsorship, the relationship between the two men is explored only briefly.

Kemper's book is about as well documented as such recent history can be, considering that the papers of Truman, Eisenhower, and most other important political figures of the era are unavailable. The author, however, left virtually untapped the unique source available to students of recent history: many of the principals are still alive and responsive to questions about events that occurred less than a generation ago.

Kemper seems to shrink from connecting Hennings' actions with his personality traits. At several points we find Hennings dropping a fight on the verge of victory, or compromising unnecessarily. Not until the next to the last page does the author casually inform us of the senator's "frequent lapses into lethargy or boredom, and his periodic bouts with alcoholism." These disclosures arouse doubts about the motives Kemper assigns and to some of Hennings' actions as well as his occasionally puzzling inaction. We are also left with the chilling possibility that despite the constitutional safeguards designed to protect senators against temporary popular enthusiasms, the one powerful senator who consistently fought in the open for civil liberties during the 1950's did so partly because he was apathetic about the political consequences.

Princeton University

STANLEY COBEN

CANADA'S PAST AND PRESENT: A DIALOGUE. Edited by *Robert L. McDougall*. [Our Living Tradition, Fifth Series.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press in association with Carleton University. 1965. Pp. xii, 179. \$5.95.)

THIS volume continues the publication of public lectures on certain Canadians, some famous and some less well known, sponsored by the Institute of Canadian Studies of Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. This collection includes lectures on William Lyon Mackenzie King, Louis Riel, Paul-Émile Borduas, O. D. Skelton, Charles Mair, Louis Fréchette, and Sir William Osler.

In the introduction the editor says that he found it impossible to read these lectures closely in this year of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism "without being aware of the French fact which runs through them like a scarlet thread." That is one reason for the inclusion of two lectures by Mason Wade on Olivar Asselin, not part of the "Canadian Studies" series, but presented at Carleton University on another occasion. Although a public lecture is not the place in which to present a piece of original scholarly research, each lecture does give a fresh viewpoint and adds to our understanding of its subject. One might imagine also that the better known a figure is the less a short lecture can contribute. In spite of this limitation, however, David M. Hayne presents a compre-

hensive and critical evaluation of Fréchette, poet, politician, and journalist. In the same way Wilder Penfield, in what the editor calls a "frankly and lovingly impressionistic" sketch of Osler, presents a warm and poignant picture. King's idea of political leadership is described by Blair Neatby. Believing "that the essence of parliamentary government was collective responsibility" King tried to arrive at "the consensus of Cabinet," or at least his understanding of it. Jean Éthier-Blais draws a portrait of Borduas, "an innovator in painting and a social reformer," who brought to Canada "a creed which had been accepted by most important painters in Europe and America" for many years. Certainly the most significant contribution in the volume is Wade's two lectures on Asselin. They not only give Asselin his place as "a precursor of present-day Canadian Nationalism," but also put him in perspective with Henri Bourassa and Abbé Groulx. Indeed, Wade does more for Bourassa than André Laurendeau did for Asselin in his lecture on Bourassa presented in the fourth series of *Our Living Tradition*. George Stanley and W. A. Mackintosh deal sympathetically with Riel and Skelton, respectively. John Matthews finds in Mair the dichotomy of Canada: one face "conservative, almost impassive," the other "compromise."

University of Western Ontario

JAMES J. TALMAN

AWAKENING CONTINENT: THE LIFE OF LORD MOUNT STEPHEN.

Volume I, 1829-91. By *Heather Gilbert*. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 314. £2.)

Mrs. Gilbert's book on Lord Mount Stephen is a revision of her thesis written in the University of London. It draws heavily on the Stephen letters in the Macdonald Papers at Ottawa. Apart from the footnotes, there is no bibliography, and many of the important books relevant to the subject are not mentioned.

The book is mainly a study of the financing of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Stephen having been, above all, a "financial wizard." The major interest of the book probably lies not so much in the detail as in the incidental glimpses of the character and motives of Stephen. This is secured indirectly, for Gilbert has practically nothing to say of it. In the 1880's Stephen and his associates, such as Donald Smith and William Van Horne, were regarded by many Canadians as wealthy monopolists, exploiters of the public purse, typical robber barons. Time has softened the harshness of that picture, and most people would probably now agree that the CPR, important in making Canada a nation, meant "blood, toil, tears and sweat" to the men who built it. This book confirms the verdict, for it is hard to read these extracts from the personal and confidential letters Stephen wrote to Macdonald without admitting his devotion to his cause and to his adopted country. At the same time it must be said that Stephen ended his life of railway building with wealth and honors. The author does not go into the circumstances surrounding the granting of his title, but it would be interesting to know if the Canadian government were involved. Nor does she, in so many words, explain the sources of his wealth. Her attitude is generally uncritical.

The book at once suggests certain general points to the historian. One of these is that the Liberals of the 1870's and 1880's could not possibly have built a nation. Another reflection involves the detail and delay of government red tape, and a

third is how different the current scene must always look to insiders and outsiders. And another, especially for Canadians, is the ineffable bliss of those fortunate enough to have been born of poor parents in a poor Scottish village and sent forth to fight life with the most meager of educations!

Within its limits this is a useful, competent book.

Queen's University

ARTHUR LOWER

LES INSTITUTEURS LAÏQUES AU CANADA FRANÇAIS, 1836-1900. By André Labarrère-Paulé. (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1965. Pp. xviii, 471. \$10.00.)

THIS is M. Labarrère-Paulé's second excursion into the subject of the lay teacher in the Quebec educational system in the nineteenth century. His earlier work, *Les laïques et la presse pédagogique au Canada français au XIX^e siècle* (1963), was an examination of the educational publications of French-Canadian lay teachers. In his new work he turns his attention directly to the teachers, examining their origins, education, teaching methods, difficulties, and, above all, their decline. While this new book repeats some of the material presented in the earlier work, and argues almost exactly the same thesis, it remains a useful and exhaustive study of an important facet of the educational and cultural milieu of Quebec in the last century.

The essence of the story is revealed in two sets of figures. In 1836 the proportion of *instituteurs laïques* in Quebec education was 96 per cent; by 1900 the figure had fallen to 57 per cent with the percentage of *religieux* increasing accordingly. But, in the author's view, the story was even more bleak than these figures suggest, for many of the remaining *laïcs* had come to terms with the demands of the Church for an educational system controlled by the clergy. "Dans le domaine de l'enseignement, le Canada français a évolué à l'inverse du monde moderne," the author concludes. The explanation for this change has several facets, but all lead back to the same source: the Church. By 1864, the year of the Syllabus of Errors, the forces of clerical conservatism were prepared to assume control over the Quebec educational structure. Gradually, under the leadership of such ultramontane bishops as Monsignor Lafleche, the Church began to replace the lay teachers. Part of the stimulus for this movement came from the reactionary policies of Pius IX, part from a fear of French influences of the Jules Ferry type, and part from the mounting criticism of Catholic schools in English Canada. Thus the decline of the lay teacher in Quebec ran parallel with the growth of a conservative and clerical nationalism there at the end of the nineteenth century.

On the whole the author's analysis is convincing and revealing. His own anti-clericalism, however, is evident on almost every page. A few decades ago an English Canadian expressing Labarrère-Paulé's sentiments about the part played by the Church in education in Quebec would have been viewed with grave suspicion by many French Canadians. This book, then, in addition to being a useful piece of history, is an interesting gauge of the new climate of opinion. It deserves to be widely read by all students of French Canada.

University of Toronto

RAMSAY COOK

LAURIER: THE FIRST CANADIAN. By *Joseph Schull*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. 658. \$10.00.)

Mr. Schull's biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is not primarily a work of scholarship; nor is it simply a vulgarization of academic research carried out by others. Perhaps the fact that it falls between these two categories explains the unsatisfied feeling left after reading the book. The author has done some research and, where possible, has made use of the fruits of others' labors: studies of Laurier's intriguing relationship with Madame Lavergne by Professor Marc LaTerreur, and of Laurier's management of his party's affairs in Quebec by Professor H. B. Neatby. But on the whole what emerges is the Laurier depicted forty years ago in O. D. Skelton's official *Life*.

To some extent this result is due to the slow pace of Canadian scholarship in the crucial decades of Laurier's career. Much remains to be done for the first time, and a good deal of revision is necessary on what has been done. Schull cannot be judged too harshly for failing to do what other scholars have left largely untouched. But failure also results in some measure from the author's decision to concentrate on the issue that troubles Canadians most today: French-English relations. Thus while all the great "racial crises" are given full treatment, the problems related to the material development of the country—railways, tariff, immigration—are ignored or treated superficially. Considerable space is devoted to imperial relations, but Schull has advanced here little beyond the Liberal apologetics of Skelton and J. W. Dafoe.

The least satisfactory aspect of the book is the result of the author's division of labor: of some six hundred pages, only about two hundred are devoted to Laurier's years in office. Yet it is Laurier in office, Laurier the politician, about whom we are most anxious to learn more. The result, then, of both the issues that are emphasized and the periods that are stressed, is that the picture that is painted of Laurier is the familiar, wartless one of Sir Galahad. The Machiavelli, who Dafoe rightly insisted was also part of Laurier's complex personality, remains obscure. Therefore, while Schull has written an attractive, often exciting, sometimes illuminating, and always sympathetic account of the "First Canadian," he has not really explained the master politician's success.

University of Toronto

RAMSAY COOK

BARTOLOMÉ ARZÁNS DE ORSÚA Y VELA'S HISTORY OF POTOSÍ.

By *Lewis Hanke*. [Brown University Bicentennial Publication.] (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 81. \$4.00.)

As part of its bicentennial celebration, Brown University is publishing the voluminous *History of Potosí* written in the eighteenth century by Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela and completed by his son. The three volumes of the history will have an extensive introduction by Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, but all material, including studies in the appendix, will be in Spanish. For the reader restricted to English, Hanke and Brown University offer a relatively short introduction in this volume, based upon the Colver Lectures of 1965 and characterized by the looser movement of material prepared for a wider public.

The plan of Hanke's English volume is simple. An initial chapter sketches briefly some major aspects of Spanish reporting and writing of the history of the New World in the sixteenth century and ends with a review of colonial histories of Potosí, including some comment on Arzáns. A second chapter deals with the life and intellectual equipment of Arzáns, the discussion of sources and influences constituting another sketch of historiography but one more directly linked to the *History of Potosí*. A third chapter selects striking aspects of the history of Potosí as described by Arzáns for notice and comment; the illustrations throughout, which are copies of plans in the *History*, fulfill the same function. The content of the history of Potosí is indicated by an appendix that gives the chapter headings of the *History* in English translation with the volume and page numbers of the three-volume edition. From the headings it is clear that Arzáns wrote what is essentially a chronicle in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century style rather than history in the new style then evolving in the eighteenth century.

Specialists will probably prefer the fuller treatment in Spanish, but others will be grateful for this sketch in English. The book itself is strikingly handsome in paper, typography, and binding.

University of California, Berkeley

WOODROW BORAH

CÉDULAS DE LA MONARQUÍA ESPAÑOLA RELATIVAS A LA PARTE ORIENTAL DE VENEZUELA (1520-1561). Compiled with a preliminary study by *Enrique Otte*. (Caracas: Edición de la Fundación John Boulton, Fundación Eugenio Mendoza y Fundación Shell. 1965. Pp. lv, 425.)

THIS volume is the sixth in a valuable series in which royal cédulas concerning Spanish colonization of the territories included in the present republic of Venezuela are being published. The materials presented in the volume, from the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla*, include cédulas regarding the early, unsuccessful efforts to settle regions of the vast and difficult lands of northeastern South America that later fell to other nations, as well as territory now within the limits of Venezuela. By far the major portion of the royal provisions that appear in the volume is from three *Registros Cedularios*, but it also includes the royal dispositions relative to the authority granted to Fray Bartolomé de las Casas for his effort to colonize Paria and other documents on efforts to settle the area between the Orinoco and Amazon. A total of 315 cédulas, among grants of authority and related provisions concerning the establishment of the prospective colonies, are presented: Bartolomé de las Casas and Paria, 1520-1525; Diego de Ordás and Marañón, 1530-1532; Jerónimo de Ortal and Paria, 1533-1539; Juan de Epés, Francisco de Orellano, and Diego de Vargas and Nueva Andalucía, 1536-1537, 1544-1545, and 1559-1561, respectively.

The volume is excellently organized and printed and carefully indexed. A better reproduction of the eighteenth-century map of Nueva Andalucía and additional maps would have added luster to the work. Those whose field is not Hispanic colonial history will find that the cédulas of this volume provide a basic concept of the juridical, political, military, religious, and economic framework within which early Spanish colonization was carried out, and those in the field

will find in this volume, as well as in the others of the series, valuable and well-presented source materials.

Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

EPIDEMIC DISEASE IN MEXICO CITY, 1761-1813: AN ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL, AND MEDICAL STUDY. By *Donald B. Cooper*. [Latin American Monographs, Number 3. Institute of Latin American Studies, the University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1965. Pp. x, 236. \$6.00.)

THIS pioneering book re-emphasizes that Mexico offers an abundance of valid historical subjects other than studies of heroes and villains. Cooper analyzes in depth five major epidemics of smallpox, typhus (*malazahual*), and "mysterious fevers" that killed at least fifty thousand residents of Mexico City from 1761 through 1813. In each segment of the rigidly outlined book he has sought diligently to identify the culprits that caused or allowed those devastations. His indictments are impressive.

The swampy lake site of Mexico City proved to be an insurmountable sanitation problem, no single official of the city took primary authority for health measures, great numbers of hungry Mexicans crowded into unsanitary districts, and medical knowledge of the period was disastrously inadequate. The city was characteristically filthy: Lake Texcoco and city canals served as sewers for garbage and excrement; hogs and dogs rooted decaying corpses from shallow graves; and odorous interments in city churches polluted the air.

As the epidemics occurred, responsible people of the city accepted their duty to aid the destitute sick. Viceroy, *audiencia*, *cabildo*, *protomedicado*, and Church joined in uncoordinated battle against disease and its attendant hardships. Forced contributions from the affluent provided rude charity to the afflicted; Viceroy Branciforte even tapped sacrosanct royal funds in 1797. Authorities set crews to cleaning the nauseating canals and streets. But their efforts were palliative at best, and the extemporized organization that fought the epidemics lapsed with the end of the immediate emergency, to be activated again only when the death carts signaled the beginning of another disaster.

The author has researched his subject from excellent raw materials with care and perception, but I must quarrel mildly with a major conclusion. His ranking of "the causes of the outbreaks" as administrative, social, and medical seems precisely reversed. Maladministration could hardly cause an outbreak when neither the germ nor the carrier of disease was known. Criticism notwithstanding, this book is a solid contribution to a field previously neglected. The Mexicanist's shelf will be incomplete without it.

University of Houston

JACK A. HADDICK

EL CONSULADO DE BUENOS AIRES Y SUS PROYECCIONES EN LA HISTORIA DEL RÍO DE LA PLATA. In two volumes. By *Germán O. E. Tjark*s. Foreword by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois*. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani," Numbers 103 and 104.]

([Buenos Aires:] Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. [1962.] Pp. 467; 479-971.)

READERS of these two volumes will find a detailed and thoroughly documented study of the *consulado* of Buenos Aires that at times almost expands into a commercial history of the La Plata viceroyalty. Tjarks sets as his goal the reasoned and objective examination of the sources on the *consulado*, and in this he succeeds.

The first five chapters narrate the founding of the *consulado* and detail the internal organization and functioning of that body. The author then deals topically with numerous aspects of the *consulado's* impact on the history and economic development of the La Plata area. For example, he examines the institution's role in defending Buenos Aires against the English, its actions in opening new commercial routes, and its efforts toward port construction, facilitation of commerce, industrial and agricultural development, and assisting education.

Perhaps the most significant subjects treated concern the *consulado's* activities during the critical and uncertain period from 1790 on, when it sought to protect the interests of Buenos Aires in the rapidly shifting struggle between England, Spain, and France. The reader can see here the emergence of an articulate, local, commercial community increasingly alienated by the intransigence of the Cádiz monopolists and tempted by the growing weakness of the mother country.

The topical orientation of the work and its very comprehensiveness confront the reader with a considerable problem. It is difficult to keep the threads of so many topics and their causal and chronological connections in mind. In spite of the author's cross references, the topics tend to become compartmentalized, and the total historical picture can be seen only with much effort on the part of the reader. The book is based, in great part, on archival material, and footnoting and bibliography are thorough. There are an appendix of the personnel of the *consulado* and other interesting documents, as well as illustrations of the plans of the various public works sponsored by it. There is, however, no index.

To summarize, this is a thoroughly researched and carefully prepared work that amasses a notable body of information on the *consulado* and shows the importance of that institution in the development of colonial Argentina.

Brigham Young University

GEORGE M. ADDY

BY REASON OR FORCE: CHILE AND THE BALANCING OF POWER IN SOUTH AMERICA, 1830-1905. By *Robert N. Burr*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXVII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. 322. \$7.00.)

A HALF decade ago President Jorge Alessandri of Chile, aware that his hard-pressed nation could ill afford to engage in an arms race with Peru, sought unsuccessfully to promote agreements that would have reduced military expenditures in his country and in neighboring republics. During 1965 there were angry diplomatic exchanges between Chile and Argentina over their disputed border. Although obviously not written with these recent developments in mind, this volume provides much information relevant to their nineteenth-century antecedents, and

in doing so serves to recall once again the continuing influence of the past upon contemporary Latin America.

This is a pioneer work in the sense that it is the first major study of South American international relations to use an approach that has proved fruitful in European and US diplomatic history. Professionals will appreciate the thoroughness of the author's scholarship, his careful documentation, especially of archival materials, and his successful effort at objectivity in a field notorious throughout Latin America for its lack of objectivity.

Some attention is given to the conditions under which Chile attained national stability, but essentially the study details how, during the nineteenth century, that country affected and was affected by the development first of regional power politics and later of continental power politics in South America. The author builds his case by treating in basically chronological order dozens of international incidents involving Chile and its neighbors. The volume establishes beyond doubt that Chilean diplomats took good advantage of their nation's political stability and its relative economic well-being to enhance Chile's commercial and strategic pre-eminence. Although Professor Burr might demur, for me his presentation often casts Chile's leaders more in the role of aggressors than peacemakers and shows them as unwilling to sacrifice any parcel of Chilean sovereignty as the price of stability in the area.

From the above it should be apparent that I doubt that the author can be seriously criticized by anyone who accepts the approach to diplomatic history that he chose to follow in this volume. But I am not convinced that his approach is necessarily the most valid one. With this in mind and also with awareness that I am supposed to deal with what was written, not with what I would have had the author write, I still feel compelled to note three areas where the volume might have been strengthened: had it placed less reliance upon official sources and more upon memoirs, newspapers, and literary works; had it related Chile's changing power position more closely to the socioeconomic transformation that the republic and its neighbors were undergoing during the post-1875 era; and had Burr given us more of his own thinking on the justice of the claims of the various contenders in the disputes he discusses. No one is better qualified to make such judgments.

Stanford University

JOHN J. JOHNSON

THE SÁNCHEZ NAVARROS: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY OF A COAHUILAN LATIFUNDIO, 1846-1853. By *Charles H. Harris III*. [William P. Lyons Master's Essay Award 1963.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 127. \$3.50.)

This monograph is based on the Sánchez Navarro family papers which now repose in the Latin American Collection of the University of Texas Library. Subjects covered include the successful efforts of the Sánchez Navarros to protect the integrity of their properties during the Mexican War; management of the several haciendas that comprised the *latifundio*; production and marketing of sheep, the principal product; miscellaneous information on high lights in the life of the workers; the social activities of the owners; and depredations made by wild Indians on herds belonging to the haciendas.

The author concludes that the Sánchez Navarro holdings exhibited several of the characteristics of the nineteenth-century hacienda in northern Mexico, including territorial extent and diversity, debt peonage as a form of labor organization, economic self-sufficiency, and a stratified internal social structure. He observes, however, that the properties were managed efficiently and effectively as a capitalistic enterprise rather than as a source of social status.

Mr. Harris' work provides a sense of unfulfilled expectations. The Sánchez Navarro properties are not examined in relation to more general or theoretical treatments of Spanish American or Mexican *latifundios*, and the several chapters do not fit into any discernible conceptual scheme. The methodology relies on presenting selected samples of data to illustrate general observations rather than on systematic collation and analysis of sources. The volume is certainly a better than average master's essay, but the subject is so promising that one hopes that Harris will go back to the manuscripts and provide us with a more extended and systematic treatment of the Sánchez Navarro *latifundio*.

University of Florida

L. N. McALISTER

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH! THE STORY OF THE PARAGUAYAN WAR. By *Charles J. Kolinski*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 236. \$6.50.)

In a timely parallel to the US Civil War and its centenary, this study publicizes for the first time in English the drama of South America's major international conflict of the nineteenth century. Sprinkled with anecdotes, this lively review of the build-up, the major campaigns, and the virtual annihilation of Paraguay is taken entirely from secondary works and published sources and as such has particular merit for the military historian and the nonspecialist in Latin American history. Nothing is startlingly new in Kolinski's presentation, but he has put order in a complex decade of political and military history and in a fashion that will make sense to those uninitiated in personalities and currents of Río de la Plata politics—no mean feat.

Disappointing to the specialist, however, particularly in a work based on doctoral investigation, is the absence of archival research or even a thorough survey of printed sources. Examination of the content and footnotes reveals that the work has been constructed almost entirely on the basis of a dozen contemporary accounts of the war and several historical studies. Missing are Argentine and Brazilian legislative debates or ministerial reports, dispatches from British and US representatives now available on microfilm, and specialized collections of correspondence such as the *Archivo del Coronel Doctor Marcos Paz* or *Correspondencia Mitre-Elizalde*.

Kolinski's approach is chronological. Each country, situation, or major personality is introduced with several pages or paragraphs of general description. The author devotes considerable effort to setting the scene; particularly effective is the chapter "Arms and Armies," where he carefully analyzes the military capabilities of each country. Following seventy pages of background, Kolinski develops the major focus of his study: the first flush of the Paraguayan offensive, the formation and consolidation of the allied forces, and the bitter campaigns leading to the abandonment of Paraguay's major fortress, Humaitá, in early 1868. The

final hunting down of López in 1869–1870 climaxes this war of “independence or death.” The work concludes with a brief but suggestive forecast of the war’s effect on the participants. Within this framework Kolinski has stressed two major themes: the heroic and desperate resistance of Paraguay fighting for national survival, and the force and determination of Brazil to crush López and perhaps Paraguay itself. Despite the polemical and partisan nature of his sources, Kolinski has maintained admirable balance and objectivity. One hopes that, having developed the broad view from readily available sources, he will continue his investigations of this fascinating era into the archives and government publications.

Indiana University

JAMES R. SCOBIE

HISTÓRIA E HISTORIADORES DO BRASIL. By José Honório Rodrigues. ([São Paulo:] Fulgor. 1965. Pp. 183.)

THIS volume is composed of essays and studies written mostly in the 1950’s. In them the distinguished Brazilian historian gives some of his views on the strengths and weaknesses of his country’s historical writings. The first concerns Brazilian historiography and the historical process. The problem is not progressive specialization, but the lack of a connection between the historical process and historiographical thought. Contemporary history, he says, is left largely to French, American, and Soviet historians, and there is little authentic and profound research to serve as the basis of generalized syntheses. Also lacking are adequate connections between historic periods and the present. “The past illuminates the present,” he writes, and “the present reveals the past.”

The revolution of 1930, the modification of the economic and social structure, and the political struggles of the middle class greatly stimulated interest in Brazilian history. The “Brasiliana” series was begun in 1931, and five years later the “Documentos Brasileiros” followed. Other historical collections were begun in the same era.

Capistrano de Abreu was the first Brazilian historian to become independent of European historians, in his *Caminhos antigos e o povoamento do Brasil* (1899), and his *Capítulos da história colonial* (1907). His disciple Afonso Taunay continued the process with *História geral das bandeiras paulistas* (11 vols., 1924–50) and *História do café* (15 vols., 1939–43). The latter work was in part contemporary history. Others, such as Oliveira Viana and Caio Prado Jr., wrote works that also came down to the present. The *Caminhos antigos* is called the most perfect synthesis in Brazilian historiography; it was for Brazilian history what F. J. Turner’s *The Frontier in American History* was for United States historiography. The true viewpoint of Brazilian history is not the Atlantic Coast but the *sertão* and the roads leading to it. *Caminhos antigos* caused a modification of historical writing and methodology in Brazil.

The second part of the book deals critically with various Brazilian historians, and all of these essays are of interest and value. The last is entitled “Casa Grande & Senzala, um caminho novo no historiografia” and deals appropriately with Gilberto Freyre’s famous social history of the big house and the slave quarters, “the pioneer culturalist interpretation of our history.”

These essays are of interest to students of Brazilian history. Also to be con-

sidered are the author's *Historiografía del Brasil. Siglo xvi* (1957) and *Siglo xvii* (1963).

Texas Christian University

DONALD E. WORCESTER

PARTY POLITICS IN PUERTO RICO. By *Robert W. Anderson*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 269. \$6.75.)

THIS island-wide, grass-roots, academic coverage in depth of the last twenty years of political parties in Puerto Rico is lucid, dispassionate, and thorough. This 1960 doctoral dissertation from Berkeley has been rebuilt into a solid edifice of value for Puerto Rican political scientists, historians, economists, and public officials. Similarly, it will be helpful to their overseas counterparts who study the smallest of the Greater Antilles as a bridge that some authorities feel promotes better understanding between the United States, Latin America, and other emergent societies. In a few spots the book is redundant, awkward, and resorts to borrowed metaphors, but these infrequent flaws detract little from its over-all high quality. It may contain minor factual errors, inaccurate conclusions, and misplaced emphases; they are of minimal interest to generalists, and I will not hunt them down.

The book's principal verdicts are that Puerto Rican politics is characterized by slight ideology and consistency, by multiparty consensus in favor of industrialization, adherence of the *Populares* to "the majoritarian-mandate theory," alienation preoccupations, concern with political status vis-à-vis the metropolis, and beneficent personalism as typified in Luis Muñoz Marín. It could have been pointed out that beneficence is also typified in the leader of the *Republicanos*, Luis Ferré, whose corporations are noted for their enlightened welfare programs. Professor Anderson does not neglect those who fail to conform to these characteristics, the extremely small nationalist group. Skeptics of Puerto Rico's being a developmental model, especially Mexicans, may be surprised that the author finds a striking similarity between Mexican and Puerto Rican politics. The best parts of the book are a chapter on "Conclusions" and an epilogue, on "Elections of 1964," an event marked by Muñoz Marín's becoming a senator rather than again running for governor. Other chapters concern the island's being an example or an exception, legalism, party realignments, 1940-1960, the *Populares*, the *Republicanos*, the *Independentistas*, various aspects of party organization, and the legislative process.

Fifty politicians, two key legislative officials, and other knowledgeable people supplied Anderson with data, large portions of which are summarized in eleven tables. The author is to be congratulated on his mature, articulate, and industrious professionalism. Neither this book nor Operation Bootstrap may be models, but they both have something meaningful to say.

New Haven College

BYRON WHITE

ADMINISTRATION OF A REVOLUTION: EXECUTIVE REFORM IN PUERTO RICO UNDER GOVERNOR TUGWELL, 1941-1946. By *Charles T. Goodsell*. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 254. \$4.95.)

THIS study is valuable for several reasons. First, the scholarly bookshelf on Puerto Rican history and government is not large. It comprises perhaps a half-dozen mono-

graphs on the twentieth-century period, works of widely varying quality. Of course, many semischolarly and polemical books have been published about "America's Caribbean Problem Child," but most have been long on point of view and lamentably short on research and balanced perspective. It is fortunate that Goodsell investigates with coolness, and he has done his work intensively, entitling him to his clearly expressed viewpoint. Secondly, existing studies of Puerto Rico in the 1940's have concentrated on the politics of the Tugwell-Muñoz relationship, or on the economic origins of the Fomento industrialization program. The island's government and its inner workings—public administration—remained neglected. In filling this gap Goodsell meets a real need for our understanding of the Tugwell administration and the years following.

The organization is admirably clear, and major topics are well arranged. Goodsell uses just enough illustrative material to make the most of his points. I particularly admired his chapter on planning, which demonstrates how Tugwell, the professional planner, made substantial gains for the concept and reality of planning, but by no means swept the islanders off their feet. Thus whether the colonial mainland official was "anti" or "pro" Puerto Rican, the best-laid plans of any colonialist had a way of atrophying before the ingenious resistance of the Puerto Rican politicians. The chapters on civil service and budget reform are convincing and well executed.

Although the author utilized mostly primary sources, it is still a pity that the private papers of Tugwell could not be included. Goodsell interviewed Tugwell and presumably requested access to his private collection. The Governors' Papers in La Fortaleza in San Juan also remain closed. But Goodsell has ranged widely for information, making good use of interviews and more customary sources so that the scholarly integrity of his work is by no means undermined by these omissions.

It is possible, of course, to quibble with Goodsell's use of the term "revolution." However extensive the modifications of Puerto Rico's political and economic relationship with the United States, there has obviously been no basic overturning of the island's society. But change there has been, and Goodsell's excellent account of the administrative aspects tells us much that is worth knowing about Puerto Rico in the 1940's. It is a fine companion volume to Tugwell's *Stricken Land*, that brooding, diffuse, and brilliant memoir of our last Caribbean proconsul, which told us much about the governor, but relatively little about the island.

University of California, Los Angeles

FRANK OTTO GATELL

CONCILIAÇÃO E REFORMA NO BRASIL: UM DESAFIO HISTÓRICO-CULTURAL By José Honório Rodrigues. [Retratos do Brasil, Volume XXXII.] (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira. 1965. Pp. 246.)

THE author of this interesting analysis of the defeat of the forces of reform in Brazil by those of political compromise is one of his country's most prominent historians, one of two or three known internationally. Respected for his valuable contributions to the colonial, bibliographical, and historiographical fields, Mr. Rodrigues has recently turned to historical interpretation of contemporary issues from a nationalist and Leftist viewpoint. He has attempted to give a his-

torical base to those nationalists who gained some power in early 1961, greatly increased it with the accession of Goulart to power late in the same year, and who were summarily ousted in 1964. Since he is the only serious historian, other than committed Marxists, who has thus engaged himself, his recent works have a twofold importance and require a twofold scrutiny. Aside from their merit as history, they also serve as propaganda media.

In this work he presents the thesis that Brazilian history has been a record of the snuffing out of reform movements by the politics of conciliation in which divergences between cliques of the ruling minorities have been compromised. The people, and hence the nation, have been the consistent losers.

The first section is a lengthy essay which is not documented but which has a bibliography. The second, "Theses and Antitheses," presents sixty-eight propositions previously stated in the first part. The third section consists of two essays originally published in *O Jornal do Brasil* in support of the Goulart regime's program to enfranchise the illiterate. Rodrigues, who believes that the dominant minority, whether conservative or liberal, has always been alienated, antiprogressive, antinational, and never in tune with the times, will fail to convince those who are not committed to a single-minded, progressive interpretation of Brazilian history. He presents an interesting thesis, but far greater space and documentation are needed to prove or strengthen his position. There is too much reliance on quotations or observations from Brazilian politicians who, even more than politicians elsewhere, are prone to contradict themselves as their careers lengthen. He also fails to consider deeply enough that the Brazilian political vice of *acomodismo* may not be the conscious effort of a sinister and selfish minority, but rather may be that characteristic of the Brazilian people which so distinguishes it from its Hispanic neighbors. In short, the volume is a rather brilliant tour de force that will intrigue, but not satisfy the historian.

As a political device, the volume is extremely important. Here the average Brazilian Leftist-nationalist, whose knowledge of his own history is usually abysmally simplistic, will find justification for his posturing, his lack of logic, and his overtures to political chaos.

University of Kansas

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Council of the American Historical Association has been advised that the work of S. Walter Poulshock, *The Two Parties and the Tariff in the 1880's* and "The Politics of the Tariff in the 1880's," based confessedly in part upon evidence which does not exist, has been withdrawn as far as possible from circulation and that anyone attempting to use it should be advised of this.

The American Historical Association will meet at the New York Hilton Hotel at Rockefeller Center, New York City, December 28-30, 1966. William E. Leuchtenburg of Columbia University is Chairman of the Program Committee, and John F. Roche of Fordham University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

Regular and special committees of the Association appointed by the Council at the Annual Meeting in December 1965 are:

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Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.—Lester Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, chairman; John R. Alden, Duke University; Whitfield Bell, American Philosophical Society; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Lyman H. Butterfield, The Adams Papers; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission; Alfred A. Knopf, New York City; Otis Singletary, University of North Carolina (Greensboro);* William J. Van Schreeven, Archivist of Virginia; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University.

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Washington; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California (Berkeley).
Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Theodore Hamerow, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Joel Colton, Duke University; Felix Gilbert, Institute for Advanced Study.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Charles F. Delzell, Vanderbilt University, chairman; Arno J. Mayer, Princeton University;* Piotr Wandycz, Indiana University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Alexander DeConde, University of California (Santa Barbara), chairman; William J. Griffith, Tulane University;* Eric Lampard, University of Wisconsin;* Lawrence Towner, Newberry Library; David Van Tassel, University of Texas.*

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Don Fehrenbacher, Stanford University, chairman; Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University; Norman Graebner, University of Illinois.*

Committee on the Clarence H. Haring Prize.—Lewis Hanke, Columbia University, chairman;* Thomas McGann, University of Texas; James R. Scobie, Indiana University.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Wilmington, Delaware; Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Paul Murphy, University of Minnesota; Joseph H. Smith, Columbia University.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Robert Walcott, College of Wooster, chairman; Jack Hexter, Yale University; Wallace MacCaffrey, Haverford College; R. K. Webb, Columbia University; David Willson, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Ainslie T. Embree, Columbia University, chairman;* B. K. Gupta, Brooklyn College;* Norman Palmer, University of Pennsylvania.

Three committees appointed jointly by other historical associations and the American Historical Association are:

Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation.—Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, US chairman;* John Galbraith, University of California (San Diego); R. A. Preston, Duke University; Craig Brown, University of Toronto, Canadian chairman; G. M. Craig, University of Toronto; C. P. Stacey, University of Toronto.

The Historical Association (Britain) and American Historical Association Committee on National Bias in Textbooks.—E. H. Dance, G. R. Potter, Reginald F. Treharne (British members), and Ray A. Billington, Richard P. McCormick, Caroline Robbins (United States members).

Organization of American Historians and American Historical Association Committee on Censorship in Textbooks.—Boyd C. Shafer, Macalester College, chairman; W. D. Aeschbacher, Organization of American Historians; Ray A. Billington, Huntington Library; Vernon Carstensen, University of Washington; John Caughey, University of California (Los Angeles); Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; John E. Dickey, Valley Station, Kentucky; John Hope Franklin, University of Chicago; Joe Frantz, University of Texas;

* New member this year.

Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; R. W. Patrick, University of Florida.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Honorable Francis Bowes Sayre of Washington, D. C., has presented his papers to the Library of Congress. The approximately 2,500 manuscripts reflect all aspects of Sayre's long and distinguished career as teacher, diplomat, and theologian, but they illustrate primarily his service as Assistant Secretary of State (1933-1939), US High Commissioner to the Philippines (1939-1942), and United States representative to the United Nations (1947-1952). There are letters from President Franklin D. Roosevelt and from many persons prominent in his administration. The papers also include Sayre's speeches and articles and the manuscript of an autobiography.

Shortly before his death, Dr. Allen B. Du Mont, "the father of television" and developer of the cathode-ray tube, presented his papers to the Library. Du Mont conceived the technique that led to radar and, in the mid-1940's, established the first television network to carry commercial programs. The papers number about 48,000 pieces.

The papers of the late Harold Gatty, one of the foremost navigators and authorities on navigation in his time, have been received as a gift from his widow. They contain manuscript drafts of his books, *Nature Is Your Guide* (1958) and *The Raft Book* (1943), his notes for a transpacific airline, and materials on his inventions of a land speed indicator and a drift meter. Many of the papers are Gatty's research notes pertaining to the history of land and nautical navigation. Comparatively little material concerns the famous Wiley Post-Harold Gatty flight around the world in 1931.

Edward L. Bernays, who gave the name of "counsel on public relations" to the profession in which he pioneered, and Mrs. Bernays have presented their personal papers to the Library. Recording the work of more than half a century, the 250,000 items not only document Bernays' career but, because of his pre-eminence in the field, also chronicle the rise of the public relations profession. The Bernays papers are now closed.

An addition to the Library's rich A. E. Housman holdings is the Grant Richards collection, which consists mainly of papers assembled for preparation of Richards' *Housman, 1897-1936* (1942), the fullest biography to date. The collection contains much material that was omitted from the published work.

Material relating to the Civil War is included among smaller accessions. Mrs. J. W. Bortner of Baltimore, Maryland, has given some 140 papers of the Scott family of Baltimore; they include letters from Judge T. Parkin Scott to his wife, which were written during his imprisonment as a strong Confederate sympathizer, and papers of their son, John White Scott (1837-1917). Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis of Washington, D. C., has given sixty-two diary volumes kept between 1840 and 1885 by the Reverend James Thomas Ward, a Methodist minister and later president of Western Maryland College.

Recent National Archives accessions include records, 1962-1963, of Leo R. Werts, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Administration; selected parts of the files of the Office of Science and Technology, 1963; files of the Battle of New Orleans

Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission and its chairman; and the records of four outstanding ichthyologists (J. L. R. Agassiz, 1807-1873, S. F. Baird, 1823-1888, T. N. Gill, 1837-1914, and H. M. Smith, 1865-1941) associated with the Smithsonian Institution. Other accessions include miscellaneous record books of the American embassies at Port-au-Prince, 1920-1932, and Baghdad, 1889-1903; the American consulates general at Calcutta, 1928-1931, and Niagara Falls, 1905-1931; and a "Detailed List of Seamen or Mariners" by the American consulate general at Sydney, Australia, 1858-1913.

Records of the Department of State that have been microfilmed recently include Records from the Decimal File, 1910-1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Haiti (94 rolls) and the Dominican Republic (79 rolls); to Political Relations between the US and Haiti (2 rolls); and to Political Relations between Haiti and Other States (4 rolls). Also recently completed are Letters Sent by the Lands and Railroads Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1904 (310 rolls); and Records of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories ("Hayden Survey"), 1867-1879 (21 rolls). Military records filmed include the Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in the Veteran Reserve Corps (44 rolls); and the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the Mexican War in Organizations from the State of Tennessee (15 rolls).

Recent accessions of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library are the papers, 1933-1943, of the late Herbert E. Gaston, assistant to Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., from 1933 to 1939, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury from 1939 to 1945; a small group of papers, 1915-1957, of Howard Brubaker (1882-1957), editor and writer; and records of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Committee, Inc., for 1945-1946.

The Harry S. Truman Library recently acquired the papers of Sherman Minton, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 1949-1956, and Harold L. Enarson, Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, 1950-1952; and additional papers of Stanley Woodward, ambassador to Canada, 1950-1953, and Stanley Andrews, Administrator, Technical Cooperation Administration, 1952-1953.

The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library was officially opened for research on March 19, 1966. Preliminary inventorying and processing of the materials deposited at the library have been completed. More than 90 per cent of the holdings have been opened, including most of President Hoover's public papers and some of his personal correspondence. Mr. Hoover's Commerce Department files have been opened, as well as some Hoover Commission materials, selected speech files, drafts and galleys of a number of books, campaign materials, and audiovisual materials.

At its meeting on March 11, 1966, the National Historical Publications Commission voted to recommend a grant to aid the letterpress publication of the papers of John C. Frémont sponsored by the University of Illinois Press. Grants were also recommended for continuing support for letterpress publication of James K. Polk's correspondence (Vanderbilt University), and the papers of Henry Clay (University of Kentucky), Ulysses S. Grant (Southern Illinois University), Jefferson Davis (Rice University), and Henry R. Schoolcraft (Wayne

State University). Continuing support was also recommended for microfilm publication projects at the Universities of North Carolina, Notre Dame, and Virginia.

Among recent accessions of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin's Division of Archives and Manuscripts are the papers of William Morris Leiserson (1901-1959), Art Buchwald (1952-1964), John M. Shaw (1930-1959), and Howard K. Smith (1941-1961). Additional collections include papers of the Textile Workers Union of America (1939-1960), the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO (1941-1955), and state records from the Banking Department, the Department of Agriculture, the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, and the Department of Public Welfare (Division of Corrections).

The Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan has recently catalogued 1,440 theses of the Michigan Medical School (1851-1878). These theses provide a valuable tool for the study of Victorian presuppositions and social and intellectual developments.

The Labor History Archives of Wayne State University is now the official depository for the records of the Industrial Workers of the World. Supplementing official records are the personal papers of IWW members, including Matilda Robbins and Nicolaas Steelink.

Federal Circuit Judge Warren L. Jones has donated his private collection of books, pamphlets, and writings on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War to the Louisiana State University Library.

RECENT DEATHS

Hoffman Nickerson of Oyster Bay, New York, a life member of the Association, died in March 1965.

H. Gresham Toole of Huntington, West Virginia, died October 27.

Richard W. Mathews of Los Angeles, California, died in January 1966.

Francis Butler Simkins, professor of history at Longwood College and a former president of the Southern Historical Association, died February 9, at the age of sixty-eight.

Joseph W. Schmitz, vice-president and dean of faculties of St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, died February 16.

Mary L. Sawyer of Newton Highlands, Massachusetts, died March 7.

Elizabeth Meade Thomas of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress died April 16.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Edwards Professor of History, emeritus, at Princeton University, died April 22. He was born in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1879 and received both his B.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Virginia. Called to Princeton by Woodrow Wilson in 1910, he remained a member of the Princeton faculty until his retirement in 1947 and served from 1928 to 1936 as chairman of the history department. He was named twice to the Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford, 1939-1940 and 1944-1945, and was President of the American Historical Association in 1947.

He was one of the outstanding scholars in the field of early American history. His books on colonial Virginia—*Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia*, *Virginia under the Stuarts*, and *Planters of Colonial Virginia*—challenged many accepted ideas about the early history of the colony and provided a solid foundation for the work of other scholars. In his three volumes on the *Founding of American Civilization* he studied the social and cultural history of the middle, southern, and New England colonies. These books gave a powerful impetus toward modifying the emphasis on political and economic history that had characterized earlier work in his field. Among his many other books were a history of Norfolk, a history of Princeton, and a monograph on Bacon's Rebellion.

His scholarship attracted many students to his graduate seminar; his lucidity of expression and his ready wit made him a popular undergraduate teacher. His kindness and encouragement persuaded many young men to enter our profession and to persevere in their work after early discouragements. His interests were broad: he was a newspaper editor, an expert on bridge, and a notable amateur architect as well as a historian. In this versatility he was a worthy representative of his beloved golden age of Virginia.

Millicent Barton Rex, head of the history department at Madeira School, Greenway, Virginia, died May 5, at the age of sixty-four.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is ironical that the editing of the recent volume, *J. Franklin Jameson: A Tribute*, to which I was one of fourteen contributors, did not approach its subject's standard.

I yield to no one in my respect and admiration for Jameson nor in similar respect and admiration for the scholar and, incidentally, editor, Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, who reviewed the book for you (*AHR*, LXXI [Jan. 1966], 507).

This letter concerns only the editing of the volume. Without consulting this contributor the editors changed his language and his meaning, though there was ample time to send copy either in manuscript or galley to the contributor. I wrote, "Jameson was the finest historical editor the United States has known, probably one of the greatest western civilization has known." I did not write the editor's phrase, "Jameson . . . still heads our ever lengthening list of historical editors" (the phrase Professor Bemis quoted from my essay in his review). I did not write the editor's phrase, "In the belief with Croce and Collingwood that history

should or must be written [*sic*] . . .,” but I wrote, “In the sense that Croce and Collingwood believed that history must or should be rewritten. . . .”

The editors made other unfortunate changes, but I do not wish to take *Review* space to list them. Editors may, on occasion, be helpful to authors. Jameson was. But an essay appearing under an author's name is the author's, and his meaning should not be changed—unless he agrees.

Macalester College

BOYD C. SHAFER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May one utter a bleat of protest, not in behalf of an author or a book, but in behalf of an injured branch of our fraternity? In the January 1966 issue (LXXI, 603), Arnold H. Price concludes a review by charging the author with unreliability in the handling of statistics, personal names, geographic terminology, and book titles; then he closes with the words: “These defects reflect to some extent the uncertain status economic history occupies as a discipline.”

The status of economic history is no more uncertain than that of many other lively disciplines or branches of disciplines. (And is a discipline always the better for real or fancied certainty of status?) At any rate, economic history is neither so primitive nor its status so mean as to induce or condone the sort of *Schlamperei* that the reviewer claims to have found. A valued colleague should not confuse self-criticism with autodefamation.

University of Oregon

VAL R. LORWIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

If it were not for the high reputation and respect commanded by the *American Historical Review*, I would not write in regard to what is, in my view, a superficial and misleading review of my book *Plantagenet in South Africa*, being the first biography of Lord Charles Somerset, governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1814 to 1827, which appeared in your January 1966 issue (LXXI, 638).

I am sure that you subscribe to the dictum that “while comment is free, facts are sacred,” and I should, therefore, be grateful if you would allow space to correct certain important misstatements of fact made by Mr. Jeffrey Butler in his review of my book. His statement that I did not use *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Volume VIII, is totally untrue. This is substantiated on page 149 of my work, where there is an actual quotation, with acknowledgment, to this standard reference work. In stating that another standard work, *A History of Southern Africa*, by Professor Eric Walker, was not used by me, Mr. Butler intentionally or unintentionally prevaricates and misleads. I used Professor Walker's earlier work, *A History of South Africa*. This is incorporated in his revised *A History of Southern Africa*, which brings the story up to date and includes other territories such as Rhodesia, which are not relevant to the governorship of Somerset. Taken together with Mr. Butler's unfounded allegation that I did not consult *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, this misleading observation in a journal of the *Review's* standing is most serious and damaging. It certainly suggests that Mr. Butler did not read my book as thor-

oughly as he should have. And a cursory reading is in all charitableness the only explanation that I can imagine for Mr. Butler's incredible statement that "This work shows, quite unintentionally on the part of the author, the consequences of using important colonial governorships as convenient posts for the younger sons of powerful men." This fact revealed by me for the first time is so minutely related and fully documented in my book that it is inconceivable that anyone who read it properly could arrive at Mr. Butler's conclusion, which is entirely wrong. I was quite aware of the significance of the facts I obtained through exhaustive research and duly related them. If it is not a superficial reading of the work that led Mr. Butler to make this astounding and erroneous assumption, I do not know what else it could be, unless it can be put down to an unworldly naïveté, which is not an attribute one would expect of a reviewer for the *AHR*.

Lord Charles Somerset was a Tory, and maybe this is obnoxious to Mr. Butler, since he opens his review with the remark that Somerset was "one of the villains of South African history . . . about whom both Afrikaner nationalist and liberal historians can agree."

My biography, containing a large amount of source material not published or used before, including an important series of letters between one of the commissioners of inquiry and Somerset (completely ignored by Mr. Butler), is the first attempt made to present both the favorable and unfavorable aspects of Somerset's character and career, and it does unavoidably establish that his important and positive contribution to the development of South Africa has been overshadowed by the controversy that clouded the second period of his governorship.

I sincerely hope, therefore, that you will correct in your next issue Mr. Butler's misstatements, not omitting my emphatic refutation of the reference that my account of the events leading to Somerset's appointment and the consequences were unintentional. On the contrary; they were deliberate and intentional. But I differ from Mr. Butler concerning the consequences. My view of Somerset's governorship, supported on several counts by earlier historians, namely Theal and Cory, is that it was productive of much good, whereas Mr. Butler sees it in a completely different and hostile light. This is an opinion that as a reviewer he is fully entitled to express, so long as he is accurate in regard to his facts and balanced in his appraisal. Neither of these conditions, I submit, is fulfilled by Mr. Butler in his review.

Cape Town, South Africa

ANTHONY KENDAL MILLAR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Millar did quote from *The Cambridge History*, but he omitted it from the bibliography and the index. Secondly, on Walker's *History*, it is customary, and fair to the author of a frequently revised work, to use the most recent edition. In a short review, however, I gave these two points more prominence than they deserve, and I apologize unreservedly for an error on a point of fact, and for one of judgment.

Mr. Millar did not use the above two works and others as a historian should. There are no summary of the state of studies and no conclusion setting out where

Millar has revised existing accounts. As a result, Mr. Millar is not aware of the significance of the facts he is using or, indeed, of the problems of establishing what those facts are. There are long quotations from primary sources with little indication of their relative reliability. For example, a laudatory but unilluminating obituary from the *Morning Post* is given in full (pp. 257-59), but we are not told why the *Post* was "always" so kind to Somerset (p. 50). Furthermore, the index and bibliography are arbitrarily constructed: the *Morning Post* is used many times and indexed once; the *Morning Chronicle*, also frequently used, is neither in the bibliography nor in the index.

Mr. Millar has misunderstood me on the issue of the "villain," and he confuses a conclusion—the matter of "consequence"—with a fact.

It is true that this work contains previously unpublished material, but that does not make it an adequate treatment of a superb subject.

Wesleyan University

JEFFREY BUTLER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Kent Forster's review of my *A History of Finland* (*AHR*, LXXXI [Jan. 1966], 592) invites three main comments. The reviewer claims that I "overstate" the case in saying that the Red revolt in 1918 was "precipitated by a handful of extremists serving an alien cause," and he suggests that I treat "lightly the considerable revolutionary unrest among war-weary workers and socialist mistrust of the Svinhufvud government." To measure war-weariness and socialist mistrust as alleged causes for the war is manifestly impossible. The basic facts, summarized on pages 216-218 are, however, quite clear. The radical Socialists set up a Central Revolutionary Committee on November 12 (nine days before the Svinhufvud cabinet was formed). The committee decided on November 16 to seize power although the decision was rescinded. And on January 19-22, 1918, the revolutionary elements obtained control of the Socialist Party Committee, as the result of successful manipulation ending in the addition of five new radical members, thus outweighing the previous majority that had been opposed to revolutionary measures. An executive committee, manned by extremists, was thereupon set up to prepare the *coup* that came on January 28.

Secondly, the reader is told that "surely the fascist overtones of the Lapuan movement [after 1930] were more than the invention of Communist propagandists." This is true, as I point out (pp. 251-52, 419). Incidentally, Communist propaganda was never necessary to reveal the fascist coloration of the movement, which was plain to any perceptive observer. The really important fact is that the political precipitate of the movement, the IKL party, never received more than 7 per cent of the seats in the national legislature, was reduced to 4 per cent of the seats after the 1939 election, and held no cabinet portfolios before the Soviet invasion of Finland on November 30, 1939.

Finally, the reviewer finds that my conclusion that the Soviet invasion of 1939 was without any provocation or justification is "an exclusively moral judgment" that ignores "amoral, conventional power considerations." I must emphatically disagree. My conclusion (pp. 383-87) has nothing to do with "moral judgment." It rests on the facts and circumstances, readily available to

the student, relating to Finland's neutral foreign policy posture before the invasion. The facts and circumstances rob Soviet justifications of the invasion of all substance and underline the purely aggressive purposes of the USSR when the attempt to take over Finland began.

Columbia University

JOHN H. WUORINEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Having read with considerable and respectful interest Professor Wuorinen's letter on my review of his *A History of Finland*, I offer the following comments. That a handful of extremists captured control of the Socialist Party Committee in January 1918 is not disputed, but rather that this handful instead of leading the way was carried into the civil war by Red Guardists, labor agitators, and other elements in the populace that had already engaged in violence. If this interpretation is correct, as Eino Jutikkala so deems, then precipitation of the civil war was a more popular undertaking. As for the Finnish Right in the early thirties, its fascist orientation is manifestly elusive and difficult to measure. But while Professor Wuorinen notes that the IKL leaders were "Strongly conservative or even fascist in sympathies," he concludes, "Communists outside of Finland and their supporters made much of the events of 1930-33. They saw in the anti-Communist movement an embodiment of militant fascism and in the parliamentary legislation of these years the blackest kind of reaction that could but mean the triumph of dictatorship over democracy so long as the legislation barring Communists remained in force. The events of 1933 repudiated this view." While there is no dissent from the last part of the quotation, its first assertions leave the impression that the Lapua and Patriotic People's Movements were militantly fascist and reactionary only in the Communist view.

With regard to the author's third point, this is a warmly controversial topic to which he addresses himself even in the preface. As the review indicated, Professor Wuorinen dismisses out of hand those studies that maintain that there existed grounds for Soviet uneasiness about the Finnish government's ability to cling to its neutrality in case of a Russo-German conflict and that in this consideration lies at least partial explanation for the Soviet attack of 1939. In my judgment, this is unwarranted disposal of Professor Leonard Lundin's thesis and of J. K. Paasikivi's analysis of the situation. Finally, the designation of an action as justified or unjustified implies acceptance of some standard of right conduct, some code of morality. Unhappily, and this was my point, in the jungle world of international politics no such standard of justice exists. Accordingly, as the Finnish authority Max Jakobson concludes, it is futile and irrelevant to discuss whether justification existed for the Soviet invasion of 1939. Geography, history, and military thinking led Moscow to include Finland in its defense perimeter—from this stemmed the ordeal of the Finns.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Your January 1966 issue (LXXI, 723) carries a purported review of Mr. Norman M. Wilensky's monograph, *Conservatives in the Progressive Era: The Taft Re-*

publicans of 1912. Whatever else the essay by Mr. Richard M. Abrams is, it is not a book review.

The extraordinary, apparently personal, animus that Abrams brings to his task reveals itself in (1) internal contradiction, (2) an attack on the author's professional competence and/or integrity, (3) misstatement of historiographical fact, and (4) a truly astonishing judgment as to what is or is not worthy of publication.

1. After first deriding Wilensky's contention that Progressive and Old Guard Republicans tended largely to come from the same socioeconomic strata, Abrams turns right around and lambastes Wilensky for *not* noting that "it is indeed noteworthy that insurgents should derive from the same sources" as the Old Guard! But this, of course, is precisely what Wilensky *has* noted—by Abrams' own admission.

2. Abrams belabors Wilensky for "merely" quoting "samples from the works of Taft, Nicholas M. Butler, Henry Stimson, Elihu Root, and Charles Nagel, without giving us reason to accept these men as 'typical' or the sample quotations as representative" of Old Guard ideology. Granted that Stimson, at least, cannot be taken as typical, how can we possibly doubt that Taft, Butler, Root, and Nagel are pre-eminently so? And why, except out of malice, should we doubt that the samples Wilensky has chosen are anything but representative of the thought of those exemplary Old Guardsmen? It is surely less than honest to raise the question, as Abrams does, without providing us with the slightest evidence that better samples could have been chosen.

3. Abrams dismisses with contempt Wilensky's thesis "that President Taft . . . began a political attack early in 1911 which was primarily responsible for the conservative control of the Republican party at the close of 1912." Who could ever have doubted it? Abrams asks. "Anyway, George Mowry has already told us about it in at least two books. . . ." But in fact Professor Mowry has not already told us about it in either of his two superb studies of the period—nor, for that matter, has Mr. Henry F. Pringle in his massive biography of Taft. Quite the contrary, Wilensky is entirely correct in asserting that the generally held view has been that Taft did little or nothing to secure his renomination until early 1912.

4. Is so drastically revised a view of Taft as politician worth publishing? Abrams thinks not—not only because he fails to recognize the view as revisionary, but because he apparently considers the main documentation upon which it is based to be of little consequence: the hitherto inaccessible papers of Taft's private secretary, Charles Dewey Hilles, who merely happened to be the chief architect of Taft's entire renomination campaign. Abrams makes it clear that he thinks first access to papers of this character hardly justifies a doctoral thesis; and for the University of Florida Press to have published a revision of that thesis in its monograph series is to have "done a disservice for a profession already inundated with duplicate narratives and much trivia."

Readers more familiar than Abrams with the politics of the progressive era will perhaps make a truer judgment as to who has done what disservice to the profession.

Wabash College

KARL O'LESSKER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Richard M. Abrams' review of *Conservatives in the Progressive Era: The Taft Republicans of 1912*, by Norman M. Wilensky, published in the January issue of the *Review*, is unjust. Professor Abrams dismisses Wilensky's central thesis as unworthy of examination and asserts that, in any case, George Mowry has already said enough on the subject in two books.

In fact, Wilensky makes an important point, scarcely touched on by Mowry, when he demonstrates that in 1912, Taft and the Republican Old Guard saw it as their primary task to keep the GOP safe from the taint of Rooseveltian radicalism, even if it meant losing the election. It is only by noting this fact that it is possible to understand some otherwise mysterious features of the election of 1912. Why, for instance, did Taft choose to run for the presidency in 1912, knowing, as he did, that defeat was almost inevitable? Why also did the Republican Old Guard stand by the hopeless candidacy of Taft to the end, rather than switching to the more likely Roosevelt? Wilensky's study helps explain the frustration and eventual decline of progressivism within the Republican party. It should not be dismissed as "duplicate narrative" or "trivia."

University of Auckland

JAMES HOLT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I simply do not care to enter into any dialogue with either Mr. Holt or Mr. O'Lessker over Norman Wilensky's work on Taft in 1912. The only part of Mr. O'Lessker's intemperate letter that I should care to comment on is his ill-considered suggestion that I may have some personal animus toward Mr. Wilensky. The fact is, I had never heard of Mr. Wilensky before and have had no dealings with him since. If I had known him, I am sure I would likely have found him an amiable gentleman of sound integrity. Perhaps I would then have felt impelled to write a less honest review.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD M. ABRAMS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

For the expounder of an enemy thesis Mr. Fraenkel has reviewed my book, *Protest: Sacco-Vanzetti and the Intellectuals* (AHR, LXXI [Apr. 1966], 1093), with generosity and forbearance. The grace notes, however, are deceptive. Author of a legal study upholding the Sacco-Vanzetti innocence, and general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, which was associated with the defense, Mr. Fraenkel continues to use his best professional skills to save his clients.

His forensic method dictates the proportions of his review. Attempting a *pars pro toto* argument, he devotes more than two-thirds of it to the trivial and tenebrous Proctor claims. The truth is that the Proctor story, if accepted at full value, has insignificant effect on the full force of the undisputed facts of the case. The reader, meanwhile, has been left ignorant of the massive central body of evidence established by these facts: the sixteen eyewitnesses who put Sacco or Vanzetti at one or the other of the two crimes, the suspicious actions of the heavily

armed men on the night of their arrest, and the hard ballistics evidence demonstrating that Sacco's pistol had killed the South Braintree payroll guard.

Mr. Fraenkel has given carefully selected views of *Protest's* discussion of the Proctor claims. I had reported a talk with the late Associate Justice Harold P. Williams of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, a highly respected commonwealth jurist. Williams, who had been the district attorney's chief assistant, told me that Proctor was put on the stand essentially to identify the ballistics exhibits. The case transcript bears this out. Proctor had merely said that the markings on the fatal bullet were "consistent with being fired by that [Sacco's] pistol." Williams told me: "He knew very little about bullets and he used the word 'consistent' because he wasn't competent to testify to more than that. . . . He hadn't made the actual test—didn't know how." It was the other prosecution expert who carried the weight of the prosecution's ballistics case, the district attorney referring to him at length and ignoring Proctor in his summation.

Since that time objective ballistics tests, closely observed by representatives of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense and documented by photographs, have confirmed the guilt of Sacco's pistol. Mr. Fraenkel apparently shut his eyes when he came to one of those photographs in my book.

Mr. Fraenkel argues without substantiation that I have given the prosecution the "benefit of every doubt." I suggest that he continues the Sacco-Vanzetti partisan tradition of creating doubts and giving the defense the benefit of every one of them.

About the intellectuals, Mr. Fraenkel is baffled because I found they had done more good than harm despite the nonsense they broadcast. Yet productive errors are a commonplace of history.

The difficulty in the review lies in the mixing of disciplines. As a lawyer Mr. Fraenkel has been trained under the adversary principle of Anglo-Saxon justice. With no responsibility for the truth, which is presumed to emerge from the clash of contending arguments, the advocate is free to make the most of partisan claims. The review is an exercise in advocacy and not an effort to evaluate a serious historical study. *Protest*, like the other books reviewed in these pages, deserved a fair evaluation by a competent historian.

New York, New York

DAVID FELIX

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I have read Mr. Felix's letter commenting on my review of his book. It has all the faults of the book itself. In the first place, my 1931 book does not "uphold" Sacco-Vanzetti innocence; nor was I in any way connected with the American Civil Liberties Union when I wrote it. I became one of its general counsel only in 1955.

I stressed the Proctor incident because, contrary to the views of Mr. Felix and former prosecutor, later judge, Williams, it is crucial. That was the view of Professor Morgan of the Harvard Law School in 1948. That Felix calls it "trivial and tenebrous" is a fair measure of his judgment. His reference to sixteen eyewitnesses ignores not only the larger number of contrary witnesses but the unreliability of any eyewitness testifying about someone he had never seen before under circumstances of excitement. The "hard" ballistics evi-

dence just does not exist. All competent students of the subject are in agreement that the experts on both sides, both at the trial and on the later motions, had little competence. The later "tests" that Mr. Felix refers to were never subject to judicial scrutiny, as I mentioned in my review.

I do not pretend to be a historian, but I suggest that no competent historian could reach any conclusion except that Mr. Felix has shown himself to be the partisan he improperly claims I have been.

New York, New York

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

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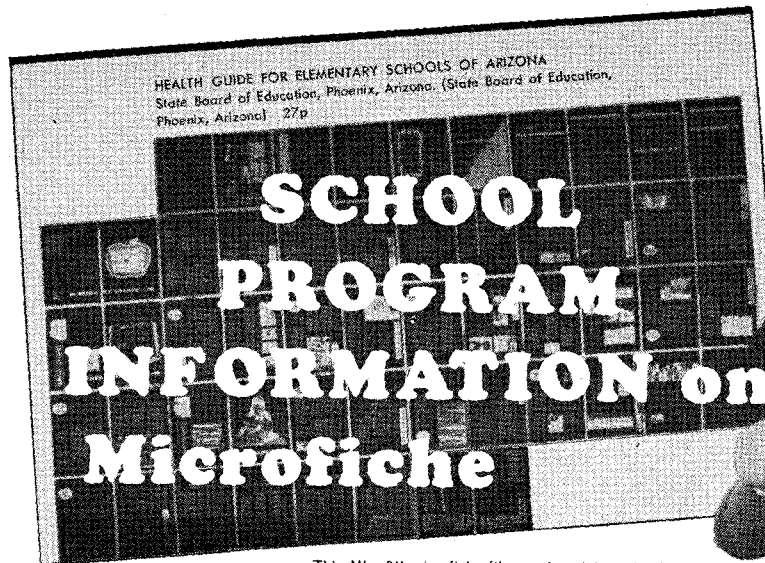
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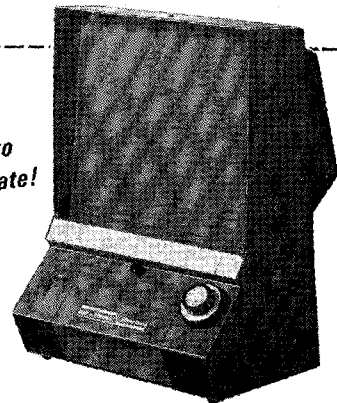
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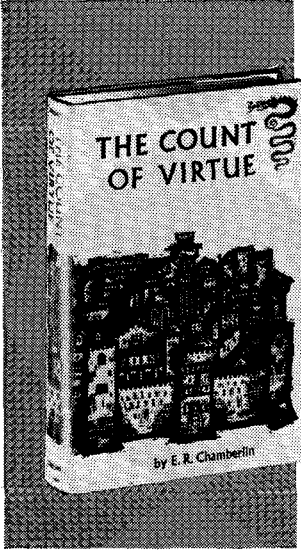
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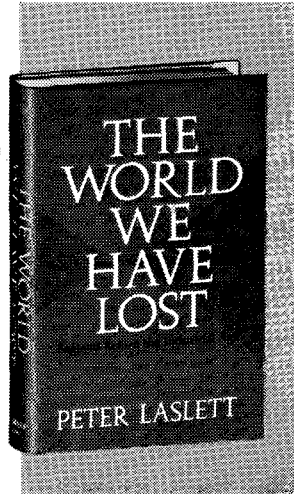
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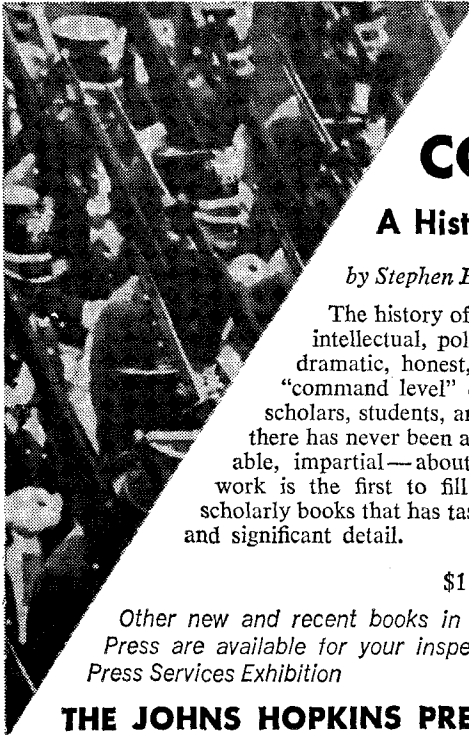
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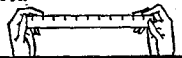


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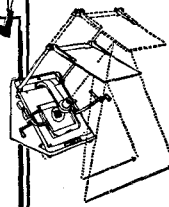
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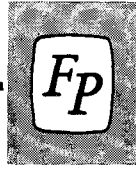
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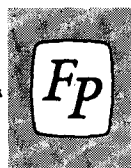
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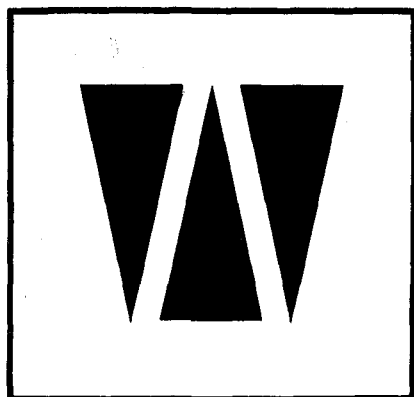
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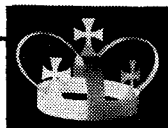
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